INDIA BETRAYED

A panorama of Indian History, Politics and Culture, from Vedic-age to Modern times.

Prof. PIARELAL SHARMA

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This is a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the panorama of Indian History, Politics and Culture from Vedic-age to Modern-times. With copious illustrations from hundred of books and articles, Mr. Sharma has convincingly and conclusively presented his thesis that this country has been continuously and consistently misled, hoodwinked. cheated, deluded, deceived, betrayed and outraged ruthlessly and mercilessly both from within and without.

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PROF. PIARELAL SHARMA

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Volume One

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Preface

Though the materials of this book had been forming themselves in my head ever since I left college and began teaching history, they could have never fructified in their present form if Mr. Omprakash Sharma, the proprietor of Red-Rose Publications had not called on me one fateful morning and posed the question: "Do you think India has been betrayed?"

I replied, "Yes, India has been betrayed, both from within and without."

"Can you prove it?" He asked.

"Yes, why not?" I said.

"Then write a book proving historically that India has been betrayed throughout its history."

That was the beginning of this book. I accepted the challenge and started pursuing the idea vigorously. The result is this analytical survey of Indian History, Politics and Culture in two volumes, in which by making a critical study of the figures and events that make our history, I have tried to demonstrate conclusively that this country has been duped, hoodwinked and betrayed throughout.

The seeds of betrayal were sown in Indian soil thousands of years ago. They began to sprout during the reign of Jai Chand. The sapling of betrayal was watered by Allauddin Khilji, who killed his benefactor Jalaludin Khilji. It was nursed by Daulat Khan. Lodhi who invited Babar to invade India.

Later on, we find that Lord Clive and Lord Hastings were betraying India and their country took them to task for their crimes. The Britishers went on betraying us under one garb or the other.

Modern history of India is full of betrayals. Miss Mayo's *Mother India* and Mr. Beverly's *Verdict On India* are books of betrayals. The year 1979 was, for India, the Year of Betrayals. In the second volume of this book my readers will find the conclusive proof of this historical fact.

The first volume of the *India Betrayed* contains the history of Ancient, Medieval and British India. It ends with the historical events of 1948.

The second volume of the *India Betrayed* deals with the history of Free India.

I am highly grateful to all those authors whose books and articles I have either consulted or quoted freely in this book.

I am also heartily thankful to Mr. Omprakash Sharma, the publisher, for providing such an excellent get up for this book. In the end, I beg to be excused for the printer's devils that might have crept in.

Suggestions for the improvement of this book are welcome and will be thoughtfully considered for the next edition.

2805/22 C, Chandigarh PIARELAL SHARMA

Introduction

History of India is the story of the philosophic mind of its people. Philosophy of India transforms thorns into roses while the science of the west turns roses into thorns. Every philosopher and reformer in India taught the world to make life a bed of roses while the scientists of the west brought beds of bombs, bullets and Brenguns around it.

Actually speaking philosophy is the science of ideas. It is not a fun, it a is function of the mind. It is born from the very core of a pure heart. It is India's purety of mind which is responsible for the betrayal of its people. Founded on a firm faith our philosophy is a true study of the inner life of humanity. When we compare the inner and outer forms of nature, we find no difference at all. The Sanskrit saying goes on '*Yatha Pinde Tatha Brahamande*. It means that the microcosm and macrocosm are one and the same. The Indian philosopher, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishanan, who was once the President of India, has proved it a hundred times.

George Bernard Shaw once wrote:

"The conversion of a savage to Christianity is the conversion of Christianity to savagery."

He means to say that if a wise philosopher tries to teach the fools, he is sure to befool himself. I am not afraid of befooling myself when I give the following pages of the *India Betrayed* to the wise lovers of History.

All forms of faith, fads, fancies and fashions find a forum in the History of India. Indians believed in many gods and goddesses from Vedic-age to the modern times.

'God is nowhere' for one person may be read by another as 'God is now, here.' Here lies the point which we may style as the keynote of Indian History. You may study it from your own angle of vision. If you know philosophy you can trace the History of God, whom India knew very well. Throughout our history there were betrayals and betrayals and even then India was not ruined for ever. She is not only living but living with a great strength also. It was India's historical strength that did not allow to kill her even when the traiters were bent upon killing her at various occassions.

Wars make Heroes and Heroes make wars. But remember that all wars are not heroic and that all heroes are not warriors. A philosophy is born out of war and out of heroic deeds as well. Lord Rama created the philosophy of the *Ramayana* because he waged a war against Ravana. Lord Krishna created the philosophy of the *Geeta* because he prepared Arjuna to wage a war against the Kauravas. Thousands of years have passed and in spite of the great passage of time Lord Rama and Krishna stand for ever in the minds of the Indians. Rama teaches every Indian to be a dutiful disciple, an obedient son, a boosting brother, a mindful master, a hugging husband, a savior soldier, a kind king, a woeful foe and a fostering friend. Lord Krishna teaches us to be men of action or *Karmayogi*. Mahatma Gandhi the saint politician of India used to sing the glories of Rama and Krishna.

The brightest and briefest lesson of History can best be had from the *Mahabharata* of Ved-Vyas of which the *Geeta* is only a chapter. Here we find that Lord Krishna, in the midst of belligerent armies, set forth a philosophy of life which has not yet been improved upon by any man or institution of the world. All religions of the world have, more or less, adopted the same ideology as preached in the *Mahabharata*.

Gautam Buddha, revolutionised the philosophy of the world. His life was an endless holiday. He was unhappy on account of finding pain and misery around him. It created a philosophy in his mind. His philosophy created a new history for the whole world. Buddha's ideas not only solved his personal problems but also gave a good solution to the knotty problems of the whole world. He clashed with Brahamanism which swayed over the minds of all Indians of his times. During his times the leaders of the Hindu society were denying fundamental rights to those who were at the lowest rung of Indian society. How? In the same manner as Jawaharlal Nehru clashed with British Imperialism which had deprived India of her birthright of freedom. Lord Buddha won his times with the help of his new ideology which created a new history for the whole of the world. Buddha's ideology was based on the thinking of a balanced mind and Buddha's mind kept world's unbalanced brains beautifully balanced through the Principles Of Middle Path. Although the Brahamins were against Lord Buddha, yet a time came when he was accepted as the ninth incarnation of God by the Brahamins themselves.

Buddha's philosophy cannot be called a religion. It is a universal system of mental progress that can be achieved by all human beings. It is not a system of worship owing any allegience to gods and goddesses. It is a knowledge that guided humanity to perfect deliverance from all defilements. In fact Lord Buddha's message is the old wine of the *Geeta* filled in the new bottles of *Nirvana*. The *Geeta* had already paved the way for right understanding, right thinking, right speaking, right acting, right living, right efforts, right concentration and right mindfullness. This was the eightfold path preached by Buddha.

If you follow the right ways of life you follow the divine path. If you believe in God you are sure to tread upon the right ways. Though many people were betraying India on many occasions of history, yet India was not separated from her ideology of God. Being not away from God, India was never away from bliss. Most of the people in India had the greatest faith in God, therefore the traiters of the country were not able to burn the whole of the land. We know it for certain that Godlessness leads to characterlessness and India was never Godless.

According to the *Geeta* good spirits come again and again to the earth for the fulfilment of their mission. Our leaders were good spirits for the people of India. Mahaprabhu Chaitanya saved Bengal when the foreigners attacked it. Also, Mahatma Gandhi was one of the best spirits that we had during the modern times. Jawaharlal Nehru was one of his best disciples. Ashoka was to Buddha what Nehru was to Mahatma Gandhi, who might have been Lord Buddha reborn, as Nehru might have been the reincarnation of Ashoka. Ashoka adorns history of India as an ardent lover of peace and prosperity. He has been acknowleged by historians as one of the greatest kings of the world because he laid down his arms after victory. He waded through a flood of blood in the war of Kalinga. After struggling hard he conquered his enemy. Drums and daggers in the battlefield brought death and disaster in their train and they created the greatest disgust in the master mind of this mighty man. Under the guidance of Upagupta Ashoka became the follower of Buddha.

Ashoka was most successful in his military expeditions. The horrors of war were turned into the glories of peace when Upagupta came to influence the mind of Ashoka. Ashoka established many works of public utility. He started many schools in India. He established thousands of hospitals. He created public gardens and public roads for the benefit of the people. Wells were dug, trees were planted and shelter houses were erected on road-sides. The government officers were instructed to serve the masses, not only most sincerecly but most actively as well. Care of the backward stribes was a special work which was taken up by Ashoka.

Service of humanity was a secred duty for all Indians during the times of Ashoka, who taught his people to care most for human values then for economic ones. There is no doubt about the fact that Jawaharlal Nehru was the Ashoka of today. He made India the pride of the world. The History of India that we are presenting to the people through the pages of the *India Betrayed* is making India a precious gem for a crown.

Lord Christ is the romanized form of Lord Buddha. We know very little about the first twenty seven years of the life of Christ. There are some scholars who believe that Christ recieved his early education at the University of Texila (now in Pakistan). It may be recalled that in those days modern Afghanistan was also a part of India. Lord Christ learnt much about Buddhism. He sipped the divine spirit of India and took the same for the benefit of the western people. He stamped it with the label of Christianity. There is sufficient proof in history to show that Christian philosophy has been influenced by Buddhism, which in the days of Christ was dominating the important countries of Asia and Europe. The sermon on the mount delivered by Lord Christ is a chaste expression of the Buddhistic principles. The Christian missionaries of the west started coming to India with a view to spread their religion but they failed to turn the whole of India into a Christian country. We have quoted many instances of the betrayal of Christian missionaries in this book. Even in the modern times we find that Christian missionaries are creating troubles|in North-Eastern Region of India and their betrayals were brought to the notice of Lok Sabha. The missionaries raised the slogan of fundamental rights but they never admitted that the modern spread of Christianity in India is based on offering a coxing proposition to the tribles or to the down-trodden of India. It was the evil influence of Buddhism in countries like Afghanistan that paved the way for Islam because Buddhism could not stand against the violance of the Muslims.

When the Mohammedan invaders made a way for themselves in the Punjab and when Muslim rulers started their kingdoms in India, Nanak appeared on the scene. During the fifteenth century when Nanak was born in the Punjab, there was going on a war between virtue and vice in India. The cobwebb of false faith was prevailing. Nanak tore it to pieces. People of the lower society had lost their social status. Lust for power had deadened sense of responsibility in the minds of the so-called leaders of the society who were treating human beings as beasts of burden. Nanak appeared with the new rays of hope. He offered his helping hands to the poor and down-trodden. He gave us a message of equality, fraternity and liberty. His ideas were loved by most of the people and he became a watch-word with the people of the Punjab. During Nanak's times there was a constant friction in India between the rulers and the ruled who were poles apart on account of the difference in their religions. The gulf between the Muslims and Hindus was yawning and widening. Nanak built a golden bridge of Sikhism by making a most appropriate synthesis of Hinduism and Islam. He preached purety of mind, piety of soul and non-violence too.

Sikhism is a Cult of Activity. Its principles are democratic. It makes its followers—the Sikhs—quite simple, straight and sweet. It insists on the status of equality for all irrespective of caste, colour or creed. It is a practicle code of human values. It encourages truth, love and generosity. In short we have to say that Sikhism is a universal religion. On an international level the Sikhs are found in each and every country of the globe because they know how to work hard and adapt themselves according to all times and climes.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a perfect passive resister. For this we offer his fight against British Imperialism as a conclusive proof. He preached non-violence and the spirit of toleration like all the *gurus* of the Sikhs. Nehru stood for composite culture, a good portrait of which can be found in the pages of the present book. As an exponent of composite culture, Jawaharlal Nehru praised the historical deeds of Babar, Humayun, Akbar and those of other Moghul kings. In the present book we have dilated upon the splendour of the culture which was lovingly adopted by the Moghuls. Akbar, the great Moghul, was not only an emperor, he was the founder of *Deen-e-Ilahi* (Religion of God) also which was adopted with equal ease by the Hindus and Muslims of India.

After the Moghul period of Indian History we find the rise of Marathtas in the south and the rise of the Sikh *misals* in the Punjab. The small principalities of the Sikhs in the Punjab were brought under one banner by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was posing a great danger for the British Rulers of India of his times. It was through betrayals and betrayals only that the Britishers were able to have a sway over whole of India but during the days of Ranjit Singh they could not think of attracking the Punjab. It was after the death of the Maharaja that the Britishers annexed the Punjab also.

The first war of Indian Independence was fought in 1857. The British Rulers called it the Mutiny, because they did not like to entertain the idea of India's Independence. After 1857, the East India Company withdrew from India and queen victoria's proclamation was made. In 1885 A.O. Hume laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress. Its work was always favourable for the Britishers for the first fifteen years and after that Indians became extremely eager for achieving Independence, when they saw that Bengal was being partitioned by Lord Curzon, whose betrayal could not be tolerated by the people of India.

Subhash Chandra Bose, from Bengal, raised his standard of revolt against the Britishers. He was a great challenge to the British government of India. He managed to run away from Calcutta when he was under the captivity of the British rulers. From Calcutta he reached Peshawar and from there he crossed the border in the guise of a Pathan. After this he reached Germany and met Hitler. He played havoc with the mighty forces of the British when he invaded Singapore and Burma in 1942 after raising the *Azad Hind Fauj* without men, without money and without materials. He had to go out of India when he was under arrest. All alone he handled the Axis Powers. It was out of clay that he moulded heroes. What a wonder that he created the Azad Hind Government also! His admirers call him *Netaji*.

The greatest and the most marvellous result of the Spirit of India was that in August 1946, the British Government agreed to install an interim Government under the guidance of Jawaharlal Nehru. This signified an important change in India's status in world affairs. Delegates appointed by the interim Government took an independent attitude in the United Nations on several issues without any reference to British views on those matters.

India was partitioned on 15th August, 1947, when the British influence was withdrawn peacefully from the Indian sub-continent and two independent countries—India and Pakistan—came into existence. India retained her international personality in the United Nations and in other international bodies while Pakistan was asked to seek fresh admission as new member to the comity of nations.

After proclaiming herself to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic in January 1950, India decided to stay in the Commonwealth of Nations to show her friendly relations with the United Kingdom. Prime Minister Nehru managed to see that the Commonwealth was no longer 'British' in character or in wording. It became a voluntary association of the sovereign communities. Jawaharlal Nehru moved in such a way that India's conncection with the Commonwealth can be renounced at will. You can seek examples from Burma and Ireland.

The socio-economic outlook of the politicians in England and India persuaded the Indian Government to retain the ties of Commonwealth relationship. India was financially and commercially connected in a closer way with the commonwealth countries. India was new comer in world affairs and wanted to avoid complete isolation. Republic of India could not expect the collaboration of communist states because according to Marxist standard India was a mediocre democracy. The U.S.A. had emerged after World War II as a colossus of great importance but the nascent Republic of India was bound to suspect the diplomatic aims of this Great Power in view of the pretensions for global leadership. In these circumstances the choice of Jawahar Lal Nehru fell on preserving the Commonwealth relationship and thus making the virtue of an evil necessity. The Government of U.K. has been continuously supporting India's adversaries in all major disputes in which India has been an interested party, both inside and outside the United Nations. India had refused to participate in the anti-Soviet combinations of the Anglo-American group of nations. Other Commonwealth countries like Canada, Australia or New Zealand are full-fiedge members of either the N.A.T.O. or the S.E.A.T.O. They shared a common outlook with U.K., South Africa, Pakistan and Ceylon. They had shown an equal readiness to join the anti-Soviet alliance of the Western Powers. Moreover, these states had developed some important dispute with India. U.K. had been persistantly encouraging these small nations to take an attitude of non-compromise on all the major aspects of their dispute with India. The attitude adopted by British politicians had made it clear that U.K. is not a friend of India. Look at India. She is a friend of all nations. She has never learnt to be a foe in spite of the grave provocations from the other side. It shows our sincere desire to practice the principles of peaceful co-existence inside the Commonwealth. It has long since been the cardinal feature of our international policy in general.

The case of Kashmere has for long been a cause of strained relations between India and Pakistan. Tribal raiders from the North-Western Frontier of Western Pakistan and Pakistani troops attacked Kashmere. It had acceded to India legally and constitutionally. India appealed to the United Nations on January 1, 1948 against Pakistan's aggression in Kashmere. Sir Owen Dixon, observer of the United Nations, testified to the Pak aggression. Even then the United Nations under the influence of U.K and U.S.A. failed to recognize the fact of aggression in Kashmere and refused to condemn Pakistan for this great aggression. However, a cease-fire was accepted by both side after some time and since then the truce-line in Kashmere has become an international boundary between India and Pakistan. India promised that final accession of Kashmere would be decided by a plebiscite of the people of Kashmere provided Pakistan withdrew her troops from there. Pakistan did not do so. Naturally India was not bound by her commitment which was made with a proviso. With a view to take undue advantage of that conditional commitment Pakistan has been demanding a plebiscite in Kashmere on its own terms. For their own strategic reasons U.K. and U.S.A. supported Pakistan.

With the announcement of U.S. Military aid to Pakistan, the friendly relations between India and Pakistan have further deteriorated. As a full-fledge member of the S.E.A.T.O. Pakistan agreed to make a complete identification of her foreign policy with the foreign policies of U.S.A. and U.K. It is legitimately feared that Pakistan's motive in joining the Anglo-American group of nations is to secure the support of United Kingdom and U.S.A. in her dispute with India. Pakistan refused to sign a no-war declaration with India. This very fact shows that Pakistan's policy in relation to India is not entirely pacific. At present, India stands isolated in the councils of the Commonwealth. India's policy of non-alignment with any power bloc in international affairs is the only reason for this isolation. In world affairs of today U.K., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Pakistan and Ceylon are irrevocably committed to the anti-communist policy of United States. Ceylon has allowed the retaining of British naval bases on Ceylonese territory. She has consistently maintained a pro-western orientation in her foreign policy. Pakistan is also gradually drifting towards the acceptance of western position.

After independence, India was primarily interested in her economic development and for this reason she could not take part in the cold war which was being waged by U.K. and U.S.A. against the U.S.S.R. Naturally India followed a policy of non-alignment which U.S.A. had to adopt after her freedom and which was followed by the American people for more than a century.

India's policy of neutrality has been very much misunderstood in U.S.A. Our socialistic leanings were wrongly interpretted as sympathy for the social and political doctrines of Soviet Communism. It was not realized in the U.S.A. that Nehru believed in evolutionary socialism and that he was deadly opposed to violent revolutionary communism. Nehru's policy towards China shows how pacific he was. He was sure to win his enemies as he did in the past. Means was more important to him than the ends.

Nehru's administrative ability surprised many great politicians of the world. His policy of non-alignment proved to be the best for India. As a man of power and austerity he was an Angel-Politician.

After Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister of India and it was in his times that we had to face a challenge from Pakistan. Lal Bahadur Shastri came out to be victorious in Indo-Pak war of 1965. It was the pacifism of Lal Bahadur Shastri that the Indian forces were ordered to come out of the streets of Lahore. The government of USSR arranged a peace formula between India and Pakistan. Lal Bahadur Shastri had to go to Tashkent, where he met a martyr's death.

After the Death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was elected the next Prime Minister of India, the most important work done by her in 1971 was the annihilation of East Pakistan and the creation of Bangla Desh on the map of the world. She created not only History but Geography also.

Indian politics has seen many ups and downs in recent years. Imposition of Emergency in 1975 by the Indira Gandhi government gave birth to the Janata Party—a combination of five opposition parties with different ideologies. For once it seemed in 1977 that the Congress Party led by Indira Gandhi was on its way out from the political stage of India. But in-fighting and mis-governance of Janata Party has brought Indira Gandhi at the helms once again.

I *India's Paradise Lost*

Sir Henry Maine thought it not easy to "overrate the ignorance of India". My own experience leads me to think likewise. Two of the most patent facts about India are its vastness and a variety which form the main subject of this book.

"That great triangular space on the world's map stretching from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean, which constitutes India—a length of 1900 miles which is also the greatest breadth—equals in area and population the whole of Europe and is far less homogeneous than Modern Europe socially, politically, and religiously." It is inhabited by one-fifth of the human race. It comprises peoples and nations well-nigh every state of civilisation from the abject savagery of the Vindhyan hill tribes, some of whom still use flint points for their arrows, to the most complex commercial communities, and the most cultured social organisations. It includes languages and religions of many kinds. "It presents every variety of climate—from the dry and singularly bracing cold of the snowy slopes of the Himalayas to the humid tropical heat of the Concan and Coromandel coast. It possesses every variety of scenery—from peaks of ice to reefs of coral, from treeless burning plains to thick, tangled jungle, and almost impenetrable forest." India's products include almost everything needed by man. Twelve thousand of different kinds of animals are found in this country. India is a continent rather than a country. Usually the writers call it a sub-continent.

How huge a subject 'India Betrayed' is, may perhaps be inferred from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Surveys. I propose to present this little treatise before the general reader by giving him a bird's eye view of India. I wish to convey to my readers some correct conception about the history, politics and culture of my country.

India consists of four separate and well defined regions—Himalayas in the north, the Great River Plains which stretch southwards from their base, and which constitute the main plain of India, the three sided tabled land which slopes upwards again from the Great River Plains, and which with the narrow belts of coast between it and sea, makes up the southern half of India—that vast tract of country was previously known as the Deccan wherein we have the states of Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra

Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala. The last point of the Deccan is Cape Comorin. The Vindhya Mountains lie to the north of the Deccan. On the east of this triangular land lie the Eastern Ghats and on the west of it we have the Western Ghats. The Himalayas are really a mountainous country extending some fifteen hundred miles in length, and some two hundred miles in breadth. I am speaking of the proper Himalayas and not its extensions eastward or westward. The Hindu-Kush may be regarded as nearly a continuation of the Himalayas and if we are imaginative enough we must visualize the Himalayas extending from the Equator because they have their branches into the Malayan Peninsula 242 degrees of north latitude and over 73 degrees of the longitude. Hence the phrase by which the Arabs designate them as "the Stony Girdle of the Earth".

Mr. Andrew Wilson points out in his fascinating work *The Abode of Snow* that this great Central Range can easily be traced from the Mountain of Formosa in the Sea of China to the Pyrenees, where they sink into the Mediteranean Sea. We are concerned only with the mountains which are called the Western Himalayas—a series of nearly parallel range, lying from south-east to north-west and enclosed by the rivers Indus and Brahamaputra.

The word Himalayas is a Sanskrit compound which means the Abode of Snow. On the top of its mountains there is a line of perpetual snow. It is much higher than the one on Alpine Peaks. Here it may not be amiss to insert Mr. Andrew Wilson's masterly comparison between the great Asiatic Range and the European Mountains. This is how Mr. Wilson writes in his book *The Abode of Snow:*

"The Himalayas as a whole are not so richly apparelled as the Alps. In Kashmir are some parts of the Sutlej valley, and of the valleys on the Indian Front, they are rich in the most glorious vegetation, and present, in that respect, a more picturesque appearance than any parts of Switzerland can boast of; but one may travel among the great ranges of the Asiatic mountains for weeks, and even months, through the most sterile scenes, without coming on any of these regions of beauty. There is not here the same close union of beauty and grandeur, loveliness and sublimity, which is everywhere to be found over the Alps. There is a terrible want of level ground and of green meadows enclosed by trees. Except in Kashmir, and about the east of Ladakh, there are no lakes. We miss much those Swiss and Italian expanses of deep blue water, in which white towns and villages, snowy peaks and dark mountains are so beautifully mirrored. There is also a great want of perennial waterfalls of great height and beauty, such as the Staubbach; though in summer, during the heat of the day, the Himalayas, in several places, present long, graceful streaks of dust-foam.

"The striking contrasts and the more wonderful scenes are not crowded together as they are in Switzerland. Both eye and mind are apt to be wearied among the Himalayas by the unbroken repetition of similar scenes during continuous and arduous travel, extending over days and weeks together; and one sorely misses Goethe's Eckschen, or the beautiful little corners of nature which satisfy the eye and mind alike. The picture is not sufficiently filled up in its detail, and the continuous repetition of the vast outline is apt to become oppressive. The very immensity of the Himalayas prevents us from often beholding at a glance, as among the Alps, the wonderful contrast of green meadows, darker pines, green splintered glaciers, dark precipitous cliffs, blue distant hills, white slopes of snow, and glittering icy summits. There are points in the Sutlej valley and in Kashmir where something like this is presented, and in a more overpowering manner than anywhere in Europe; but months of difficult travel separate these two regions, and their beauty cannot be said to characterise the Himalayas generally. But what, even in Switzerland, would be great mountains, are here dwarfed into insignificant hills; and it requires some time for the eye to understand the immense Himalayan heights and depths. Some great rock at the foot of some great precipice, which is pointed out as our camping place for the night, looks at first as if it were only a few hundred feet off, but after hours of arduous ascent, it seems almost as far off as ever.

"The human element of the Western mountains is greatly wanting in those of the East; for though here and there a monastery like Ki, or a village like Dankar, may stand out picturesquely on the top of a hill, yet, for the most part, the dingy-coloured, flat-roofed Himalayan hamlets are not easily distinguishable from the rocks amid which they stand. The scattered chalets and sen-huts of Switzerland are wholly wanting, and the European traveller misses the sometimes bright and comely faces of the peasantry of the Alps. I need scarcely say, also, that the more wonderful scenes of the Abode of Snow are far from being easily accessible, even when we are in the heart of the great mountains. And it can hardly be said that the cloudland of the Himalayas is so varied and gorgeous as that of the mountains of Europe, though the sky is of a deeper, more sword-like blue, and the heavens are much more brilliant at night.

"But when all these admissions in favour of Switzerland are made, the Himalayas still remain unsurpassed as regards all the wider and grander features of mountain scenery. There is nothing in the Alps which can afford even a faint idea of the savage desolation and appalling sublimity of many of the Himalayan scenes. Nowhere, also, have the faces of the mountains been so scarred and riven by the nightly action of frost, and the mid-day floods from melting snow. In almost every valley we see places where whole peaks or sides of great mountains have very recently come shattering down; and the thoughful traveller must feel that no power or knowledge he possesses can secure him against such a catastrophe, or prevent his bones being buried, so that there would be little likelihood of their release until the solid earth dissolves; and, though rare, there are sudden passages from these scenes of grandeur and savage desolation to almost tropical luxuriance and more than tropical beauty of organic nature. Such changes are startling and delightful, as in the passage from Dras into the upper Sind Valley of Kashmir, while there is nothing finer in the world of vegetation than the great cedars, pines, and sycamores of many of the lower valleys."

The Himalayas serve India as a vast reservoir. I need hardly observe that the great source of the earth's water supply is the Sea whence vapour is raised by solar heat, and is carried and distributed over the land in snow, rain and dew. And so long as the sun runs its course, the quantity of vapour thus sucked into the atmosphere will ever be the same. Throughout the summer a vast amount is exhaled from the Indian Ocean which is gathered into the clouds which are carried northward by the monsoons in the month of June but such of the moisture as does not descend in the shape of rain is precipitated in the crystallised form of snowflakes upon the inner heights of these mountains. Very recently we have a new theory about the monsoons. Scientists have come to believe that the monsoons do not originate from the Indian Ocean. According to them, the monsoons arise from Tibet.

The drainage of the northern slopes of the Himalayas is collected by two great rivers: the Indus and the Brahmaputra, which rise not very far from each other in the neighbourhood of Lake Manasarovar. The Indus runs about 900 miles through the Himalayas before it enters Pakistan, first westwards and then southwards. It bursts through the mountains near Iskardo in north-west Kashmir by a gorge 14000 feet deep and then it flows towards the West Punjab, finally falling into the Arabean Sea after a course of 1800 miles. On the other hand, the Brahmaputra whose course is about the same length runs in an easterly direction through the Himalayas for nearly a thousand miles entering India in the Assam Valley whence it descends to the plains of Bangla Desh. The Ganges is a great river of India. It is regarded as the most sacred one according to the religious leaders of the Hindus who worship it as Mother Ganga. It issues from an ice cave at the foot of the Himalayas near Gangotri. It joins the Yamuna at Allahabad. After a course of 1500 miles the Ganges goes to the sea through the Delta of Bengal which is the largest delta in the whole world. The Ganges is also called the Bhagirathi after the name of a great legendary king Bhagirath who worked hard for ages for bringing it from the Himalayas to the plains. It was for the purification of the sins of his forefathers that King Bhagirath brought the pure waters of the Himalayas to our plains. Perhaps the ancestors of King Bhagirath had betrayed the real spirit of India by displeasing a great sage Kapil who wrathfully burnt them to ashes. The story of King Sagar and his sacrificial horse is mentioned in the *Puranas* with a view to proving the greatest sanctity of River Ganga which removed the pollution created by sixty thousand sons of King Sagar who had gone to look after their father's sacrificial horse. Such a large army of sixty thousand princes was not only defeated but was destroyed and burnt entirely by the sage

Kapil around whose neck these people had placed a dead snake. The sage could not tolerate the insult inflicted on him by such a huge army of princes who were accusing this great Sage with the theft of the sacrificial horse, let loose by King Sagar, with a view to becoming the emperor of the whole world.

A chain of mountains called the Vindhyas runs across the peninsula of India from east to west. It extends between the twenty-third and twenty fifth parallels of latitude, from the desert situated northwest of Gujarat to the Ganges. The region south of this chain is a triangle of which Cape Comorin is the apex. The plains of India are extremely fertile. They yield good crops every year, sometimes two ond sometimes three. Wheat is produced chiefly in the north of India. It is grown in the western parts of Bengal also. Rice is cultivated in our great river plains. It is called "a wet crop" as it requires from 36″ to 46″ of deep water for its full growth. With regard to the other natural products of India, I have to quote a few lines from the Imperial Gazetteer.

"Sugar-cane, oil seeds, flax, mustard, sesamum, palmachristi, cotton, tobacoo, indigo, safflower and other dyes, ginger, coriander, capsicum, cummin, and precious spices, are grown both in the north-western or upper provinces and in the moister valleys and delta of lower Bengal. A whole pharmacopoeia of native medicines, from the well-known aloe and castor oil, to obscure but valuable feluriges, is derived from shrubs; herbs, and roots. Resins, gums, varnishes, India rubber, perfume-oils, and a hundred articles of commerce or luxury, are obtained from the fields and the forests. Vegetables, both indigenous and imported from Europe, largely enter into the food of the people. The melon and huge yellow pumpkin spread themselves over the thatched roofs; fields of potato, brinjal, and yams are attached to the homesteads. The tea-plant is reared on the hilly ranges that skirt the plains both in the North-West and in Assam; the opium poppy about half-way down the Ganges, around Benaras, and in Behar; the silkworm mulberry still farther down in lower Bengal; while the jute fibre is essentially a crop of the delta, and would exhaust any soil not fertilised by river floods. Even the jungles yield the costly lac and the tasar silk cocoons. The mahua, also a gift of the jungle, produces the fleshy flowers which form a staple article of food among the hill tribes, and when distilled supply a cheap spirit. The sal, sissu, tun, and many other indigenous trees yield excellent timber. Flowering creepers, of gigantic size and gorgeous colours, festoon the jungle; while each tank bears its own beautiful crop of the lotus and water-lily. Nearly every vegetable product which feeds and clothes a people, or enables it to trade with foreign countries, abounds."

The greatest height of the Vindhya Mountains is less than 5000 feet. The Aravali Hills have their slope drained by the Narbada. The Satpura Hills form a parallel chain to the Vindhya Hills. They are separated from them by the valley through which the River Narbada flows. It is in the Satpura Hills that the River Tapti rises. This river and the Narbada flow on parallel lines to some extent and at the end they join the sea in the Gulf of Cambay. My readers who desire to understand India very thoroughly must study her mountains and her streams which form the very basis of Indian culture. From the Western Ghats issue the three great rivers of Tamil Nadu. Their names are the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri which flow eastward across the Central Plain of the Deccan in the Indian Ocean. The Western Ghats run parallel to the sea for some 500 miles. They maintain a much higher level than the Eastern Ghats. The highest peak in Southern India is found in the Anamully Hills—a spur of the Eastern Ghats. Its altitude is 8850 feet. The Eastern Ghats are joined to the Western Range by the Neelgiri Mountains in whose spacious and undulating plateau (7000 feet high) are the sanatoria of Ooty and Conoor. Mr. Andrew Wilson has pointed out a remarkable parallelism between the Western Ghats and the Himalayas. He writes thus:

"Both are immense bounding walls, the one to the elevated plains of the Deccan, and the other to the still more elevated tableland of Central Asia. Carrying out this parallel, the Narbada (Nerbudda) will be found to occupy very much the same position as the Indus, the Sutlej as the Tapti, and the Godavari as the Brahmaputra. All have their rise high up on their respective tablelands; some branches of the Godavari rise close to the sources of the Narbada, just as the Indus and the Brahmaputra have their origin somewhere about Lake Manasarovar, and yet the former rivers fall into the sea on opposite sides of the Indian Peninsula, just as the two latter do. So, in like manner, the Tapti has its origin near that of the Narbada, as the Sutlej rises close to the Indus and if we can trust the Sind tradition, which represents the upper part of the Arabian Sea as having once been dry land, there may have been a time within the human era when the Tapti flowed into the Narbada, as the Sutlej does into the Indus some way above the sea. There is no mountain group in the highlands of the Central India where the three southern rivers rise quite so close together as do the three northern rivers from the lofty and inaccessible Tibetan Kailas, but still there is a great similarity in their relative positions."

The whole of southern India was once buried under sea water, say thousands and thousands of years ago and when the waters of the Indian Ocean were pushed by a very heavy earthquake towards Ceylon, this portion of India came to be covered under forest. The various mountain regions of southern India are more or less wooded even today. The forests of Tamil Nadu yield 'noble timber'. The fact that the Deccan was under the waters of the Indian Ocean is conveyed to us by the story of Rishi Agastya who was the first Indian sage to have discovered the whole of the southern India. It is stated in the *Puranas* that this sage drank the whole of the ocean. Drinking of the ocean is only a figurative expression about the discovery of Deccan by Agastya.

A word should here be added regarding the Andaman and Nicobar Islands which, as Mr. Blandford observes, "may be regarded as the emerging summits of a submarine range of Hills, linking the Arakan Yoma to the central hill range of Sumatra". There are four of the Andaman group and eighteen of the Nicobar, and their whole area is 3285 square miles.

Now, I speak of the races which dwell in India. Who our aboringins were, we cannot say with absolute certainty. Perhaps they were Kolarians whose chief seat was towards the south of the Ganges in its lower course. Men of the same stock as the Nigritians of the Indian Ocean and now represented by the Santhals of Bhagalpur, the Karias of Singbhoom, Tuangs of Orissa, the Kurkus of Narovada and the Bheels of Malwa and Khandesh, the Kulis of Gujarat and the Mhairs of Rajputana were perhaps the original people. The first invaders of India were perhaps the Mongolians and Dravidians who have left some oral traditions. Their history has not been recorded. Their descent upon India took place in the dim antiquity of prehistoric times, doubtless long before the date assigned by Hebrews to the creation of this world. The Mongolians came into the plains of Bengal through the north-eastern passes of the Himalayas. They came to our land from Central Asia where they dwelt side by side with the forefathers of the Chinese. The Dravidians found their way into the Punjab through the north-west passes of Sullman Hills. They established themselves at first along the southern coast of the Indus. It was in this region of north-western India that the Indus Valley civilization developed.

The people of Mohenjodaro were highly civilized. The nature of their civilization is clear from the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. The Indus Valley civilization has an important place in the history of India but we cannot dilate upon the subject because it requires a full book to throw some light on that old civilization which was perhaps destroyed by some unknown invaders. Can we say that these unknown invaders of some unknown period of our history betrayed the Dravidians living in the north-west of India? There is no doubt about it that the Indus Valley civilization which was urban and was totally destroyed by the invaders who were rural folks.

The so-called invaders of the Indus Valley did not like the sophisticated ways of the people living in the north-west of India during the prehistoric times. A conflict between ruralism and urbanism is but natural. The ruralists from the Central Asia were not in favour of urbanization. They were stronger than the effete people of the Indus valley. The ruralists conquered the urbanists. I can safely say that ruralism always betrays urbanism. Hence the destruction of the Indus Valley civilization on a very large scale took place thousands of years back.

The paradise of India which had been built in the Indus Valley was lost for ever and a new civilization began to grow in India with the advent of the ruralists. The citizens of the Indus Valley were those men and women who had been betrayed because of their social and cultural ambitions. Let us have a glimpse of India's paradise which was lost to us.

The Aryan invaders settled in the Punjab and remained there for thousands of years. It is in the *Rig Veda* that all the rivers of the Punjab have been mentioned. Slowly and slowly, the Aryans settled themselves on the bank of the Saraswati and from here they began to move towards the plains of the eastern side. Today these plains form the valley of the Ganges. In about a thousand of years or so they might have reached the Delta of Bengal. Now the country from the Punjab to Bengal was known as *Arya Virta* (the Circle of the Aryans). As the Aryans advanced eastward from north-west Punjab to the Sunderbans, they drove the Mongolian race into the Himalayas beyond the Ganges and the descendants of ancient Mongolians are still represented by the Tibetan tribes of Ladakh, Garhwal, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Assam. The southern advance of the Aryan conquerors towards Saurashtra on the west and Orissa on the east, pressed the Dravidians into the Vindhyan forests where they are still dwelling with the Kolarians and the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh. The great bulk of these people descended into southern India which was at that time thickly forested. It may be remembered that the whole of southern India is still Dravidian in its population. It is also said by some of the historians that the Dravidians descend from the Munda family which belonged to Africa. It is also stressed by some geographers that long long ago in the prehistoric times southern India and Africa were joined with each other and therefore the African blood is present here and there amongst the people of the South. Will the readers stretch their imagination on the point? There is every possibility that South India, Africa and South America were once forming a single continent. It is also believed that Northern America was also adjoined with the lands of western Europe. What I mean to say is that according to the geographers and geologists all the continents of the modern world were one and the same and it was on account of certain terrible earthquakes that all these continents were separated by the waters of the oceans.

Today India is mainly Aryan because the blood of the Aryans is flowing into the veins of most of the Indians. The sections of our population are to be considered on the basis of various invasions because the foreign invaders came from various foreign lands and settled here. It was from the year one hundred B.C. to five hundred A.D. that the various tribes of Central Asia came to India. They were known as Scythians, they made many inroads into India. About the year one thousand A.D. the series of Muslim invasions began although it was about 300 years before this time that Mohammad Bin Qasim of Baghdad, under the instructions of the Caliph, invaded King Dahar of Sind. This invasion of Sind did not prove to be very much successful.

It is only in the north of India and especially in Kashmir and the Punjab that we find the pure blood of the Aryans. The nose, the cheek bones, the complexion of the Kashmiris and Punjabis betray foreign ingredients of the Aryans. Generally the Hindus of the whole of India represent the fusion of the Aryan and non-

Aryan elements. The ancient language of the Aryans was decidedly Sanskrit which was, as we shall consider later on, the spoken language of the masses.

The Linguistic Survey of India is a monumental work which was prepared and written by Sir George Grierson. This book mentions all the languages and dialects of India. If we believe this talented writer, the number of languages in India would come to about 220, although our present Constitution of India has mentioned only 14 languages of our country. The main purpose of Sir George Grierson in writing his *Linguistic Survey of India* was to betray the Indians by telling the world that there is no unity of speech in any one state of India. Perhaps this writer desired to malign India before the whole world by pointing it out that there was no national language in this country and for this very reason the British rulers by the beat of drum were giving us one main language, English, for the whole of the country. During 150 years of British rule, the Indians did learn the English language and came to love English literature and adopted most of the English customs and traditions but India could not be Anglicised.

Professor Sayce, in his most interesting book entitled *Introduction to the Science of Language* tells us that the languages spoken in the world are divided into one hundred families. According to him the chief of these languages belongs to the Indo-European or the Aryan group. According to Professor Sayce, Sanskrit language is exceedingly interesting and extremely important from a philological point of view because this language is the nearest to the language of the *Vedas* which were decidedly composed by the Aryan sages. At the time of the dispersion of the Aryans from their original home in upper Central Asia, their language was divided into some dialects of which Sanskrit was surely one.

Professor Sayce says, "Speaking generally the languages of upper India have the greatest Aryan influence. The languages of southern India belong to the Dravidian or Munda families." It has been explained by Professor Max Muller in his book *Lectures on the Science of Language* that, "the chief distinction between an inflectional and an agglutinate language consists in the fact that agglutinative languages preserve the consciousness of their roots, and therefore do not allow them to be effected by phonetic corruption and though they have lost the consciousness of the original meaning of the terminations, they feel distinctly the difference between the significative roots and the modifying elements. Not so in the inflectional languages. There the various elements which enter into the composition of the words may become so welded together, and suffer so much from phonetic corruption, that none but the educated would be aware of an original distinction between root and termination, and none but the comparative grammarian is able in discover the seams that separate the component part." My readers may kindly remember that the Dravidian languages belong to the agglutinative family. They are reckoned as 12 in number of which six languages—Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam, Tulu and Kudagu are all highly developed. Tamil is very rich in its grammar.Telugu has been called "the Italian of India." Malayalam and Kenarese are very praiseworthy. The remaining six languages of the South are Toda, Khond, Gond, Uraon, and Rajmuhali. They are spoken by those tribes who are living in jungles. These six languages are not at all refined. To complete this rough enumeration of our languages there is another group which is known as the Tibeto-Burman family. Dr. A.B. Keath has proved it beyond doubt in his book *The History of Sanskrit Literature* that Sanskrit was the spoken language of the people in ancient India and that up to the 8th or 9th century A.D. most of the literary circles in India were using Sanskrit for literary discussions: During the reign of Shahjahan Sanskrit was learnt by the sons and daughters of this Mughal Emperor. Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shahjahan, translated many Sanskrit books into Persian language. We will deal with the Mughals and their literary activities later in this book.

Indian literature of great intrinsic value has been written in Sanskrit and the value of this great language has not yet been discarded by India, though the tendency of the Indians of today is to betray Sanskrit, their ancient national language. It has been realized by the Government of India and therefore news from the All India Radio is released in Sanskrit also to make people familiar with the language.

The ancient books of the Aryans are the Four *Vedas* and the oldest of them is the *Rig Veda*. This book has been written in a language which can be called the Vedic Sanskrit. At many places the language is very easy and can be understood by any person who knows Hindi very well. *The Rig Veda* is divided into ten parts known as *Mandals*. Professor Sayce says thus:

"The most notable things in India are the Vedic Hymns. They are the most ancient words recorded in the Vedas. "It is," writes Professor Sayce, "a collection of hymns and poems of various dates, some of which go back to the earliest days of the Aryan invasion of north-western India; the whole collection, however, may be roughly ascribed to at least the fourteenth or fifteenth century B.C. In course of time it came to assume a sacred character, and the theory of inspiration invented to support this goes much beyond the most extreme theory of verbal inspiration ever held in the Jewish or the Christian Church. The Rig Veda was divided into ten mandalas, or books, each mandala being assigned to some old family; and out of these were formed three new Vedas—the Yajur, the Sama, and the Atharva. The Yajur and the Sama may be described as prayer-books compiled from the Rig for the use of the choristers and the ministers of the priests, and contain little besides what is found in the earliest and most sacred Veda . . . The Atharva may be described as a collection of poems mixed up with popular sayings, medical advice, magical formulae, and the like."

In the *Rig Veda* we have poems—sometimes very striking—on Nature:

hymns to the Sun, the Rain, the Clouds, the Fire, the Sky, the Earth, the Wind, the Storm, the Dawn. But there is no subjective thought, no personal emotion. Let us quote by way of a specimen Max Muller's rendering of the 129th hymn of the tenth book of the *Rig Veda*.

> Nor Aught nor Naught existed; yon bright sky
> Was not, nor heaven's broad roof outsretched above.
> What covered all? What sheltered, What concealed?
> Was it the water's fathomless abyss?
> There was not death—yet was there naught immortal,
> There was no confine betwixt day and night;
> The only One breathed breathless by itself,
> Other than It there nothing since has been:
> Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled
> In gloom profound—an ocean without light—
> The germ that still lay covered in the husk
> Burst forth, one nature, from the fervent heat.
> Then first came love upon it, the new spring
> Of mind—yea, poets in their hearts discerned,
> Pondering, this bond between created things,
> And uncreated. Comes this spark from earth
> Piercing and all-pervading, or from heaven?
> Then seeds were sown, and mighty powers arose—
> Nature below, and power and will above,
> Who knows the secret? Who proclaimed it here
> Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
> The gods themselves came later into being.
> Who knows from whence this great creation sprang.
> He, from whom all this great creation came,
> Whether His will created or was mute,
> The Most High Seer that is in highest heaven,
> He knows it—or perchance even He knows not.

As time went on, commentaries on the *Vedas* were produced. These are known as *Brahmans*. They soon came to be regarded as somewhat inferior in sacredness to the *Vedas*. Herr Eggeling, the accomplished author of the translation of the *Sathapatha-Brahmana* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, remarks: "For wearisome prolixity of exposition, characterised by dogmatic assertion and a flimsy symbolism rather than by serious reasoning, these works are perhaps not equalled anywhere."

I should here remark that the *Puranas*—there are eighteen of them and eighteen supplements—are ancient legendary histories written when the Vedic religion had become antiquated, some by the votaries of Vishnu, and some by the votaries of Siva. The *tantras* were composed to stimulate devotion to Shakti—the female counterpart of Siva.

Next, let us glance at the two great Sanskrit epics. The *Ramayana*, which consists of 24,000 stanzas, and is arranged in seven books, describes the history of Rama, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. The name of Rama is a household word throughout India. Hindu mothers delight to tell their children of his exploits. There are passages in the work which attain to a high order of inspiration. As Barth observes, there is in it "accent of an ardent charity, of a compassion and tenderness, and a humility, at once sweet and plaintive, which ever and anon suggest the action of Christian influences, and which in any case contrast singularly with the pride and want of feeling—fruits of the spirit of caste—with which Hindu literature is replete."

What nonsense Barth gives us. The "action of Christian influences" cannot arise in the *Ramayana* which was written before the birth of Christianity.

The other great Sanskrit epic is the *Mahabharata*. It is the longest epic in the world, extending as it does to 222,000 lines. Strictly speaking, it is a collection of epic poetry than an epic: and by far the most noteworthy portion of it is the *Bhagvat Gita*—The Lay of the Divine One—a work which may justly be considered the highwatermark of Sanskrit poetry. William Von Humboldt celebrates it as "the most beautiful, perhaps the only true, philosophical song which exists in any known tongue". Warren Hastings noted in it "a sublimity of conception, reasoning, and diction almost unequalled". Schlegel closes his Latin version of it with an invocation to the unknown author, "whose oracular souldis, as it were, wafted aloft into divine and eternal truth with a certain ineffable delight". It is in the form of a metrical dialogue in which Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu, explains to Arjuna the supreme secret of religion and philosophy. Very noble are the portions of the poem in which Krishna reveals himself as the manifestation of that Great Universal Spirit with whom Arjuna is one. It is worth while to cite a few verses from Monier William's excellent translation:

Whate'er thou dost perform, whate'er thou eatest,
Whate'er thou givest to the poor, whate'er
Thou offerest in sacrifice, whate'er
Thou doest as an act of holy penance,
Do all as if to me, O Arjuna.
I am the ancient Sage, without beginning,
I am the Ruler and the All-Sustainer,
I am incomprehensible in form,
More subtle and minute than subtlest atoms;
I am the cause of the whole universe.
Through me it is created and dissolved;
On me all things within it hang suspended,
Like pearls upon a string. I am the light
In sun and moon, far, far beyond the darkness;
I am the brilliancy in flame, the radiance

In all that's radiant, and the light of lights,
The sound in ether, fragrance in the earth,
The seed eternal of existing things,
The life in all, the father, mother, husband,
Forefather, and sustainer of the world,
Its friend and lord. I am its way and refuge,
Its habitation and receptacle,
I am its witness. I am victory
And Energy; I watch the universe
With eyes and face in all directions turned.
I dwell, as wisdom, in the heart of all.
I am the Goodness of the good, I am
Beginning, Middle, End, eternal Time,
The Birth, the Death of all. I am the symbol
Among the characters. I have created all
Out of one portion of myself. Even those
Who are of low and unpretending birth,
May find the path to highest happiness
If they depend on me; how much more those
Who are by rank and penance holy Brahmans
And saintly soldier-princes like thyself?
Then be not sorrowful; from all thy sins
I will deliver thee. Think thou on me.
Have faith in me, adore and worship me,
And join thyself in meditation to me;
Thus shalt thou come to me, O Arjuna;
Thus shalt thou rise to my supreme abode,
Where neither sun nor moon hath need to shine,
For know that all the lustre they possess is mine.'

Arjuna, filled with awe at this revelation, thus addresses the Incarnate Deity:

'Most mighty Lord supreme, this revelation
Of thy mysterious essence and thy oneness
With the eterenal Spirit, clears away
The mists of my illusions. Show me then
The form celestial, most divine of men,
If haply I may dare to look upon it.'

To this Krishna replies thus:

'Thou can'st not bear to gaze upon my shape
With these thy human eyes, O son of Pandu,
But now I gift thee with celestial vision;
Behold me in a hundred thousand forms,
In phases, colours, fashions infinite."

Then follows the description of Krishna's transfiguration:

"Thus having said, the mighty Lord of all
Displayed to Arjuna his form supreme,
Endowed with countless mouths and countless eyes,
With countless faces turned to every quarter,
With countless marvellous appearances,
With ornaments, and wreaths, and robes divine,
With heavenly fragrance and celestial weapons;
It was as if the firmament were filled
All in an instant with a thousand suns,
Blazing with dazzling lustre, so beheld he
The glories of the universe collected
In the one person of the God of gods.'

William Samuel Lilly writes thus:

"The likeness between these portions of the Bhagavat Gita—there are many more such—and the Sacred Scriptures of Christianity must strike even the most superficial reader. Hence some scholars—conspicuous among them is Dr. Lorinser—have been led to believe that the Sanskrit poet directly borrowed from the New Testament, copies of which, he thinks, found their way to India about the third century, the period, as he judges, of the Gita's composition. On the other hand, there are those who assert that the Christian Evangelists were indebted to the Krishna legend: an assertion for which, however, there is no evidence. If needed, the Gita is rightly assigned to the third century of our era, its author may have known something of Christianity, which certainly existed in India at the period." Mr. K.T. Telang, a learned Hindu to whom we owe the translation of Gita, places it in the fourth century B.C. That the Sanskrit poet directly borrowed from the New Testament is a western bias against India's greatness.

"Great historians know it fully well that the people of Europe were not aware of the cotton plant when cotton-clothes were fabricated by India. At the time of Alexander's invasion of India a Greek scholar wrote: "In India wool grows in farms on green plants."

The Britishers were the masters of India for more than fifteen decades. Their main object was to establish their superiority in the field of culture and literature. They did not like to support the fact that India had already attained the zenith of culture before the birth of the Roman Empire. How foolish it is to place the *Mahabharata* even after the birth of Gautam Buddha. It is a sheer betrayal.

2 *The Broken Lights*

The *Rig Veda* is confessedly the work of transcendent authority on the beliefs and practices which make up the Vedic Faith. All other Indian sacred books are subordinate to it. The name *Sruti*, or revelation is uniquely applied to it. These holy writings are called *Smiriti* or tradition. The Vedic religion is the first phase of that polytheistic idea of the universe which after the transformation and developments and corruptions of thousand of years, still subsists in India and dominates the minds of the great majority of her people. Let us consider this script of doxology in some detail.

The Gods of the Vedas are personifications—there is no better word available—of physical forces and phenomena. The religious beliefs enshrined therein are founded on that nature worship which was originally common to all the branches of the Indo-European family. The Light, the Sun, the Dawn, the Wind, the Fire are celebrated in the Vedic hymns with vivid and picturesque imagery, as manifestation of Divinity. In them the god Varuna appears to be merely the chief of many deities who keeps watch over the universe. To say that there is absolutely no moral element in this old Vedic religion would be incorrect. The moral order in the *Rig Veda* is named as Rita. Sin is recognised as evil, righteousness as good. But if we proceed to inquire what constitutes sin, and what brings righteousness, we find little trace of these ethical conceptions which lie at the root of modern European life.

The Vedic minstrels, writes Barth, feel the weight of other duties besides multiplying offerings to the gods and the punctilious observance of religious ritual. But we must admit that the observance of these is to them a matter of capital importance and their religion is prominently ritualistic. The pious man is, by distinction, he who observes rituals and whose hands are always full of butter, while the reprobate man is one penurious towards the Gods, the worship of whom is the first duty. Of the features of modern Hinduism most repugnant to our mind are the atrocities of Siva and Kali, the licentiousness of Krishna, the dowry system and perpetual widowhood. These evils betray India.

How the Vedic religion passed into Brahminism we have no means of determining. But it did pass as its naturalism was metaphysically construed and sacredotally developed in the *Brahmans*. The Vedic deities become gradually more and more shadowy in the popular mind. The rites performed by the priestly caste—the Brahmins—assumed an ever greater and greater importance. The key to the explanation of the second phase of the Indo-Aryan religion contains in the word 'caste'. The fourfold division of the people into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras is, no doubt, foreshadowed even in the *Rig Veda*; the priesthood appearing there constitutes a distinct profession. But in this second period, the caste distinctions are so to speak, stereotyped. They become rigid which finds expression in the laws of Manu. The Brahmin alone knows the rites of religion with their hidden and mystic meaning and his supremacy is established. In this period sacrifices hold a great place, the laws of Manu present an accurate picture of Indo Aryan society as it then existed. But while the Brahmins were building up a stupendous system of rites, they were busy with the philosophic speculations which are enshrined in the *Upanishads*. These sacred books are metaphysical treatises, largely pentheistic in tone, largely mystical, largely allegorical. The origin and destiny of things, the nature of deity, the construction of the soul, the genesis of mental error or moral evil are their main themes. But to quote Barth, these singular books are still more practical than speculative. They address themselves more to man as man than man as thinker. Their aim is not so much to expose systems as to unfold the way of salvation. They are prominently exhortations to the spiritual life, perplexed and confused indeed but delivered at times with a pathos which is both lofty and noble. It seems as if the whole religious life of the period, which we miss so much in the ritualistic literature, had become concentrated in these writings. They regard the separated condition of the soul, which is the cause of mental error as also the cause of moral error. Ignorant of its true nature, the soul attaches itself to objects unworthy of it. Every act which it performs to gratify this attachment entangles it deeper to the perishable world. But it is in itself imperishable. It is condemned to a perpetual series of changes. Once dragged into the *samsara*, into the vortex of life it passes from one existence into another without respite and without rest. This is the twofold doctrine of the *karman* i.e. the act by which the soul determines its own destiny, and of the *punarbhava*, i.e. the successive rebirths which it undergoes. This doctrine, which is henceforth the fundamental hypothesis common to all the sects and religions of India, is found formulated in the *Upanishads* for the first time.

Unquestionably, this doctrine had sunk deeply into the popular mind, when Sakya Muni began to preach and teach and to lay the foundations of the religion which, numerically considered, is still the most prevailing of the world's creeds. Though the spiritual greatness of its founder has left a distinct imprint on Buddhism it is certainly both a development of and a reaction against Brahminism. The Buddha was no conscious revolutionist. He does not appear to have controverted the cosmogony or the theology of the Brahmins. His teaching seems to have been purely ethical. Its substance is that existence in any form is nothing but evil and that the only way to get rid of evil is to get rid of the desire of existence. The Buddha was born and lived and died a Hindu. His whole teaching, Mr. Rhys Davids emphatically observes, was Brahministic. He probably deemed himself to be the most correct exponent of the spirit as distinct from the letter of the ancient faith, and it can only be claimed for him that he was the greatest, the wisest and the best of the Hindus. But in declaring that his law was a law of grace for all, in receiving all who came to him without distinction of birth or status, in opening to all his kingdom of righteousness wherein reigned universal brotherhood and spiritual equality, he undoubtedly struck a fatal blow to the system of caste which is the cornerstone of Brahminism. In the long run, Buddhism and Brahminism were found incompatible.

The death of the Buddha occurred, probably, in B.C. 543 and within two or three centuries his doctrine became the popular religion in India. By the tenth century of our era it had practically disappeared from India. During these thousand years a great transformation had taken place in the Brahminical religion. It had overcome Buddhism by a new combinations of belief, philosophy, and epic legend, of which the *Bhagwat Gita* is the chief literary symbol. The religion of the *Vedas* had practically disappeared. It had given place to the religion of the *Puranas*. The worship of Siva had arisen and in the eighth century of our era it was widely and successfully propagated by Sankaracharya, a great name in Hindu theology. He worked to mould the Vedantic philosophy and his doctrine became popular throughout the length and breadth or India and is to this day venerated Sankaracharya as an incarnation of Siva. Among the masses his religion became a religion of fear and of the coarsest idolatry. It is recorded that one of his latest utterances was 'Oh Lord, pardon my three sins, I contemplate you as having a form who art formless, I have in praise, described Thee, who art ineffable, and in visiting shrines I have ignored thy omnipresence'.

It is claimed by the votaries of Sankara that all the chief sects of modern Hinduism were founded by his disciples. There are besides the Sivites, of whom there are thirteen varieties, the Vashnavites, worshippers of the Ganesa, the lord of the demons, to whom we may perhaps add the Saktists, worshippers of the Sakti or female energy of Siva, as they seem to constitute a distinct body.

What is the genesis of Siva himself cannot with certainty be determined. Learned men regard him as a modification of Rudra, the Storm God of *Vadas*. "Certain it is" says William Samuel Lilly "that the religion of the lower Indo Aryan races is a religion of demon worship. These words of Mr. W.S. Lilly in his book *India Past and Present* betray the religion of Hindus, who are the lovers of Truth, Beauty and Auspiciousness. Siva is not only the Destroyer; He is also the Reproducer. Lord Siva says to the world: "I bring thee life, I bring thee to death". To the more highly educated Hindus, he is the symbol of death merely as a change of life. It is as regarding him in this deeper significance that the ordinary Brahmin is a votary of his with the *lingam* as his expressive emblem. Phallic worship, like tree worship, was probably borrowed by Hinduism from the aboriginal tribes. The procreative and productive energies of nature were among the first facts to impress with wonder and awe the mind of primitive man, awaking to speculation on the origin of things. The mystery of sex is unquestionably one of the greatest mysteries. And the early religious conceptions which were associated with the *lingam* and the *yoni*, must be distinguished from the morbid prurience and lascivious mysticism into which they naturally degenerated.

In India's famous journal the *Blitz* (Nov. 25, 1978) Mr. Devanand writes about transcendental sex through *tantras*. I am reviewing Devanand's article which is the best summary of the *tantras*. Devanand says "The tantras consider sexual energy as a vital force to achieve one's own salvation. That is why a sizable section of people in ancient India used to treat sex more as a ritual to perfect oneself than to gratify the sexual urge.

The emergence of *tantra* as the fifth *Veda* for self discipline and to streamline carnal desries broke the barriers of casteism and religion. The cult made one uninhibited, allowing even the shudras to practise it.

Tantric sex was a path to self-discovery and self-realisation—that is to establish that all are equal and not above the forces of nature.

Tantric sex is pure; therefore, uninhibited. It is a to conquer the three *gunas—Rajasik ahankar*, *Vaikarik ahankar* and *Tamsik ahankar*. Before one goes for it one must take his sex-partner as the Goddess, Devi or Shakti. The initiate must find a Guru for without one, the objectives of tantric sex cannot be completed. The Guru through the *Deeksha* or initiation of the *bija mantra*, makes the initiator aware and pure.

Tantric sex needs continuous practice of yoga, self-control, motivation and purity. So, one also needs elaborate preparation for the act. A *sadhak* or initiated must know his *mantras*, and a perfect knowledge of rituals involved in the beginning.

According to Devanand, "Both Padmini and Shankhini type of women are suitable for tantric sex because they have all the necessary physical attributes. Women with full and rounded breasts, big eyes, sharp and even teeth, long and shapely hands and legs, flawless skin, rounded hips and a face with pouting lips can be the ideal partners. As sexual intercourse is elaborated and prolonged, the female partner should be constantly with it." Devanand says, "The male partner should be healthy. His genitals should be strong enough to sustain the initial excitement to achieve sexual process. Yoga, especially pranayama, helps a lot. It helps a sustained erection and a pleasant ejaculation". A yogi's sexual energy drives to an ejaculation where the carnal joy turns into spiritual bliss.

Before starting *Sadhana* one should be equipped with the sixteen *upcharas: asan* or seat, *swagat* or the gesture of welcome, *arghya* or unboiled rice with alternative of flowers, sandal paste or grass *achaman* or water for sipping twice during the ritual, *madhuparka* or honey or dairy products to be offered in a silver or brass vessel. *Snan* or bath, *vasan* or cloth, *aabhushan* or jewellery, *sugandhi* or scent extracted form sandalwood flowers incense, *naivaidya* or food and finally *vandana,* or prayer. These sixteen *upcharas* precede the sexual act. The seat of the woman's worshipper must be purified with sprinkling of holy water. The female partner should then be bathed. The water should first be poured over her head. Gradually her whole body should be massaged with the same water.

While bathing it is quite possible and natural too for an initiate to get excited. At this stage he should try to keep away from the partner. Some *tantrics* also suggest that weak initiates incapable of controlling must seek immediate release by either having a cold bath or through masturbation. This actually helps them in getting rid of tension.

One should keep in mind that *tantra* rituals always start after midnight and are completed before day break. Bath over, the female partner is led to the room lit with a small earthen lamp containing pure ghee or castor oil. The room's atmosphere must have a pleasant aroma. The partner is made to stand erect and different scents are applied on different parts of her body. At this stage too, the initiate must exercise full control over his breath and sexual desire.

The mantra *Om Hung Hring Shiva Shaktibhyam Svaha* has to be recited by both the partners.

The *bija* mantras are repeated at every stage of the worship of the female partner. Here caressing of the female body also starts for this is also the stage where one is going to enjoy the divine nectar or the "*Amrit Pan* as it is called by the *tantrics.* Each of the breast of the female is sucked repeatedly and each time in a single breath. The female initiate must also kiss her partner's aureola. He must see that his penis is under his control till he completes the sexual process thoroughly. Mr. Devanand's approach to *tantras* seems to be very much deep and concentrated. It appears from his article that he has actually realised the importance of the esoteric knowledge contained in the ancient books of *tantras* which he has studied very earnestly.

"After sucking the nipples" Says Devanand "the initiate should kneel down to touch other parts of his partners body, begin from the right toe to right side of her head, come back to the left portion of the body in a circular motion, touch her left hip and press it delicately, come down to her anus where it meets the vagina. Again in a circular motion travel down the legs till you reach the toe and then let your palm travel upwards to the cup of the vagina. Offer flowers to the divine *yoni* and recite mantras. It is Shakti's turn to kneel down and offer flowers and scent to the initiate's penis as it symbolises the *Shivlinga.* The female partner anoints the *Shivlinga* with sandal paste and milk cream."

It is the initiate's turn now to worship his partner's *yoni* offering more flower, water and sandal paste while feeling the presence of Goddess. Bhagamallni, *Yoni* worship over, he must touch her feet and recite hymns to Shakti. After this he must start forgetting worldly passions, anger and lust in order to immerse himself in the symbol of Shakti. Now with chanting of *mantras* he considers himself the Bhairava and enters the domain of Bhairavi.

As Shiva, he worships the Shakti nine times cupping his hands as a symbol of flowers. He stands and once again lets Shakti hold his penis which slowly and tenderly enters the *yoni.* Once his union with the Supreme is over, he holds her from her *nitamba pradesh* or hips, sits down effortlessly with Shakti mounting on her thighs, her legs circling round his waist. The initiate once again exercises his breath control penetrating deep into the recesses.

Here, both the *sadhak* and *sadhika*, close their eyes visualising the cosmic ray while the transformation takes place. After lying in this position for some time, the *sadhak* can fill his mouth with the *sadhika's* pouting lips, alternating it with her nipples. Sucking them while inhaling and without sinking his teeth into them, as it not only distracts but also tampers with the tempo of *lata sadhika*.

In between, the *sadhaka* must also hold her tightly, embrace, kiss, touch, visualise, watch, suck, peneterate and worship. At all the nine stages he must utter the *mantra—Shivo ham* or I am Shiva.

This is also an opportune time for him to burn his desires and passion. While filling his mouth with his partner's lips he is supposed to exhale or release *mantras* into her mouth. This way the *mantras* are said to be travelling into the Shakti's universe. He must close his eyes and cup her breasts with his palms for he is making his inward journey to the world of Supreme Consciousness.

The *tantras* also allow Shakti to perform the opposite role that of performing *Vipareet Rati*. Here the *sadhak* lies on his back, like a corpse, with his head tilted to his right and does not move at all. In this position the partners can prolong the sexual act for any length of time.

The ejaculation that follows the act becomes a great spiritual experience. One thing which one must not forget is that each individual today represents great cosmic power and through *tantric* sex what is created is sustained. In fact It sustains the Universe. This should therefore be understood that each body being a source of cosmic power, it is also a mechanism through which Enlightenment is reached.

Devanand's *tantric* knowledge seems to be very deep. We offer our gratitude to the editor and the publisher of the *Blitz* for popularising the science of the *tantras.* At a higher stage, to achieve supreme consciousness, one has no alternative except Kundalini.

The human body in the region close to the base of the spine is a reservoir of vital energy. This central area of the body also forms the seat of the reproductive system in both men and women.

According to Gopi Krishna, this part of the human anatomy has been designed by Heaven to discharge besides its normal function of

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procreation, the still nobler purpose of evolution in conjunction with a specific centre in the brain and a host of nerves employed to extract the Elixir of life from all parts of the body for transmission to it through a narrow duct in the spinal cord. This upward flow of the nerve energy partly used for reproduction (*Urdhva-ratas*) forms the basis of Kundalini.

The activity of the reproductive mechanism can be reversed and the precious energy instead of flowing downward and outward can stream inward to provide fuel to the mind and help it attain a transcendent consciousness.

Next in popularity to the worship of Shiva, which is still the most prevailing element in the religion of the Hindus, comes the worship of Vishnu, the deity chiefly honoured by the trading classes. Vishnu is specially known as the Preserver, and is at all events, so far as his name goes, a Vedic deity. In the *Rig Veda* he is spoken of as a form of the sun or penetrating solar ray. In practice, he is regarded by the numerous sects of his votaries as the Supreme Deity, just as Siva. He is worshipped in his *Avatars* or Incarnations of which they reckon ten, the most notable being those in which he was made man. It may here be noted that the Vaishnavite sects are marked by perpendicular white lines shaped like a trident, from the roots of the hair to the eyebrow while the Shaivite sects employ three horizontal lines drawn across the forehead. It must not be supposed that Shaivism and Vashnavism are opposed or incompatible creeds. They merely represent different aspects of Hindu theology and their professors dwell together in unity. It may be added that Siva and Vishnu are, in practice, chiefly adored in the person of their consorts, the wife of Vishnu being Lakshmi while Siva's consort is the goddess called Kali, Durga, Jagadhatu or Mahi. It was out of devotion to the male energies of nature, as represented by these consorts of Siva and Vishnu that the *tantras* were composed, the latest of the religious writings of the Hindus, and the most grossly licentious.

Although it may be said generally that all Hindus are worshippers either of Siva, Vishnu, or of their female energies, there is another principal god and person of what is popularly called the Hindu Trinity, namely, Brahma, the Creator. In people's minds however, he holds an insignificant place. There seems to be only one shrine of importance throughout the whole of India specially sacred to him. It is at Pushkara, near Ajmer. "The worship which was once his due" writes Sir Monier Williams, "was transferred to the Brahmins regarded as his peculiar offspring and, as it were, his mouthpieces, while his consort, Saraswati, once a river goddess, was regarded as the goddess of speach and learning and inventress of the Sanskrit language and letters. But besides these three principal deities, there are innumberable minor ones or semi-divine beings 30,0000000 of them are reckoned and for the most part they are infamous conceptions who are the objects of worship. Hinduism is the most tolerant of religions. The educated Brahmin regards popular legends as merely lights of the Supreme Light."

We can never be deprived of the literary fragrance which has been spread all over the world by our Vedic *Rishis* and ancient poets like Valmiki and Veda Vyasa—the famous authors of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The heroes and heroines of these epics are shining like stars and the authors of these books are blooming like fresh roses even today.

Hundreds of Sanskrit poets followed the path laid down in these epics. The most famous of them is the poet Kalidasa who gave us two later epics the *Raghuvansha* and the *Kumarsambhava*. Kalidasa's epics contain historical passages marked by a great beauty of poetic diction and much elevation of thought. The most famous of Kalidasa's plays is the *Shakuntala* or *The Lost Ring* as known to the Western scholars of Sanskrit. Sir William Jones translated it under that English title. The famous German poet Goethe warmly eulogised it in some well-known verses. Praises from Goethe's pen made Kalidasa the Shakespeare of India.

It is very much clear from Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* that his hero Dushyanta discarded his heroine Shakuntala when she went to his court. The poor hermit girl had to undergo the pangs of banishment. She gave birth to a son named Bharata, after whose name the whole of India came to be known as Bharata—a word included today in the Constitution of India.

Let us pose a question. Did Dushyanata betray Shakuntala, who was no less than Mother India?

I wish to speak of the *Vedas* at large but the space reserved for me here does not allow me to do so. Even then I have tried to touch these sacred books with the tip of my pen. It remains to speak of the *Bhagavat Gita* which is only a chapter out of Veda Vyasa's *Mahabharata*.

There are many Brahman-granthas. They are commentaries on the Vedas. Then we have many Up-Vedas. They are technical books on medicine, astronomy and other sciences. The *Aranyakas* are books of philosophy written by the sages who had retired themselves to the forests. There are one hundred and seventy *Upanishads*. Only a few of them, however, belong to the period of the post-vedic literature. They present the earliest and the simplest form of the Vedantic philosophy.

The importance of the *Upanishads* has been admirably pointed out by Mr. Gough in his well-known work upon these philosophical treatises.

Mr. Gough writes about the *Upanishads*:

"They are an index to the intellectual peculiarities of the Indian character. The thoughts they express are the ideas that prevail throughout all subsequent Indian literature, much of which will be fully comprehensible to those who carry with them a knowledge of these ideas. A study of the *Upanishads* is the starting point in any intelligent study of Indian philosophy."

To enter upon an exposition of the six schools of Indian philosophy, I must say that Kanad, the author of Vaisheshik, was a wonderful philosopher. Patanjali's work deserves not only appreciation but also cultivation. The practical outcome of all the six schools is in *Vadrayana's Vedanta* which was preached to the West by Swami Vivekanand.

For the last thousand years Vedanta has dominated Hindu mind consciously or unconsciously. It is still dominating us. It is only the metaphysical force of the Vedanta that has saved Indians from the sins of betraying the nation.

According to the Vedanta, the Ultimate Reality is absolute, pure, void and conscious. The veil of *maya* hides it from us. The whole universe is only a passing show. It seems and is not. Man is a wandering shadow in a world of dreams. He is an unreal actor on the semblance of a stage as his soul transmigrates through innumerable series of bodies. The way of deliverance from this veil of illusion is entire detachment from the person and things of this world through a process of purificatory virtues which may be the work of many successive lives.

Disregarding such a philosophy, William Samuel Lilly says: "It is no great wonder that a people penetrated by these doctrines and beliefs should be unprogressive. It is no great wonder that such a people should have no history, no national polity, no science."

In the garb of a historian, Mr. Lilly is betraying India, its citizens and its literature most foolishly of course.

The *Upanishads*, the six systems of Indian philosophy, the *Bhagwad Gita* and the *Vedas* have most wonderfully influenced the minds of the Indians. In the Vedic period of Indian history, we have some instances of human character that may be supposed to indicate the betrayal of a human being by another person. Later on the seed of betraying was rather smashed and was not allowed to grow. During the period of the *Upanishads* we find that the little boy Nachiketa was pointing out to his father's betrayal towards the Brahmins who were getting in charity useless and milkless cows from Nachiketa's father who in a fit of rage gave a sentence of death against the innocent child. Nachiketa who was speaking thus to his father:

"O father! Most lovable and precious things should be given in charity to the Brahmins. You love me most. Whom will you give me?" "To Death"—the angry father said.

It was the law of the land in those days that the head of the family could sentence any of his dependents to death also.

The *Upanishads* and the *Bhagvad Gita* followed the *Vedas*. I must mention these books and discuss a little of their contents.

As far as sexual desire (not against virtues) is concerned, I have mentioned in this book the principles of *tantras* also.

What about the betrayal of our women today. The tenth hymn of the 10th book of the *Rig Veda* speaks about Yam and Yami indulging in desire.

Yami wants an unbrotherly act from her brother Yam who refuses to oblige her. Yami says: "Future generations of our type will indulge thus. Why do you say no to my proposal."

These words form the seed of social betrayal even during the Vedic times. Sir George Grierson has given us his monumental work under the title *Linguistic Survey of India.* This book mentions 222 languages of India. Can you believe it? The main purpose of its writer was to betray India by telling the world that India is a land without a national language and for this very reason the British Rulers were giving us the English language and literature.

Professor Sayce in his most interesting book *Introduction to the Science of Language* tells us that the tongues at present spoken in the world belong to about a hundred families. One of the chief of these is the Aryan or Indo-European family, of which the languages of Hindustan, Persia, Greece, Italy, Germany, and Slavonia are members: "daughters of the same mother, and heirs of the same wealth of words and inflections". Of these, Sanskrit is the most interesting and important from a merely philosofical point of view, for it is nearest to the language of the Vedic Aryans. At the time of the dispersion of the Aryans from their original home, their speech was already divided into dialects of which Sanskrit was merely one. "At the head of the Indian group of dialects", writes Professor Sayce, "stands Sanskrit, the classical language of Hindustan and its Sacred Books, which though long since extinct, is still spoken by the Brahmans as Latin was in the Middle Ages. We must distinguish, however, between Vedic Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit, the older Sanskrit of the Veda differing in many respects from the later Sanskrit of the Hindu epics. . . Both Vedic and Post-Vedic Sanskrit were poor in vowels, possessing only a, i, and u long and short, with the diphthongs e, ai, o, and au, and the linguals r and l; on the other hand, they were rich in consonants, among which the 'cerebral' or linguo-dental t and d are usually supposed to have been borrowed from the Dravidian tongues. The euphonic laws are strict and delicate, the final sounds of a word being affected by the initial sounds of the word following, according to precise and well-observed rules. The syntax is comparatively simple, composition taking its place, especially in the later period of the language. The grammatical forms, however, are very full and clear, and it is to them that Sanskrit mainly owes the high position that it has occupied in the comparative study of Aryan speech. It has often preserved archaic forms that have been obscured elsewhere, though it must not be forgotten that this is by no means invariably the case; Greek and Latin, for instance, are sometimes more primitive than the old language of India. The declension is especially complete, preserving the dual as well as allocative and an instrumental. Other cases, however, which must have been once possessed by the parent-speech, have either disappeared or left faint traces behind them."

The Prakrit dialects followed upon Sanskrit just as the Romanic dialects of Europe followed upon Latin. One of them, the Pali of Magadha or Behar in North—Eastern India—now, for many centuries, a dead language—was transported by Buddhist missionaries to Ceylon in the year 244 B.C., and became the holy language of the Southern Buddhist Church.

the most authoritative sacred books of which are written in it. "The modern Aryan languages of India," continues Professor Sayce, "have developed out of the other Prakrits, and in their present form are considered not to go back further than the tenth century. Bengali and Assamese retain many features of Sanskrit, Sindhi and Gujarati in the north-west, Nepali and Kashmiri in the north, Hindi in the centre, and Marathi in the south, are all more or less changed from the primitive type. Hindi is merely the modern form of Hindui, a language which was much cultivated during the middle ages of recent Hindu literature, while Hindustani or Urdu, the language of the 'camp', is Hindi mixed with Arabic and Persian—in fact, a *lingua franca* which grew up at the time of the Mohammedan invasion in the eleventh century."

Speaking generally, the languages of upper India have an Aryan foundation. The languages of the Deccan belong to another family, the Dravidian. This is an agglutinative family, whereas the Aryan is inflectionala difference lucidly explained by Professor Max Muller in his *Lectures on the Science of Language* thus: "The chief distinction between an inflectional and an agglutinate language", he writes, "consists in the fact that agglutinative langauges preserve the consciousness of their roots, and therefore do not allow them to be affected by phonetic corruption; and though they have lost the consciousness of the original meaning of the terminations, they feel distinctly the difference between the significative roots and the modifying elements. Not so in the inflectional languages. There the various elements which enter into the composition of words may become so welded together, and suffer so much from phonetic corruption, that none but the educated would be aware of an original distinction between root and termination, and none but the comparative grammarian able to discover the seams that separate the component parts." The Dravidian languages are usually reckoned as twelve in number. Six—Tamil, Telugu, Karalese, Malayalam, Tulu and Kudagu—are all highly developed tongues. Tamil is peculiarly rich in grammatical forms; and Telugu has been called, not without reason, "the Italian of India." Six less refined and developed varieties of Dravidian are Toda, Kota, Khond, Gond, Uraon, and Rajmuhali, spoken by more or less barbarous tribes, and quite distinct from one another. The tribes descended from the aborigins speak some ten different dialects of Kolarian, which is a distinct linguistic family.

Finally, to complete this rough enumeration of the languages of India, there is the Tibeto-Burman family, which is neither inflectional nor agglutinative, but isolating.

Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* gives us a detailed account of all the languages and dialects of India. In one way or the other, this great linguist has tried to prove that there is no unity of purpose behind the people of India who according to him are deadly against each other only on linguistic tussles. He has forgotten that all languages of India have a common source and they derive their inspiration from Sanskrit.

Sacred Books of the East, refers it to the fourth century B.C., and gives many arguments, some of which are plausible enough, in support of his theory. This is how India is betrayed by the foreigners.

The *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* are of great value as they give vivid description of ancient Indian life and civilisation. In Sanskrit poetry they occupy a place by themselves.

The importance of Upanishads to readers specially interested in Oriental metaphysics has been admirably pointed out by Mr. Gough in his well-known work upon them. "They are an index to the intellectual peculiarities of the Indian character. The thoughts they express are the ideas that prevail throughout all subsequent Indian literature, much of which will be fully comprehensible to those who carry with them a knowledge of these ideas to its perusal. A study of the Upanishads is the starting-point in any intelligent study of Indian philosophy."

To enter upon an exposition of the six system of Indian philosophy, would take me beyond the scope of the presen work. The practical outcome of them all is in the Vedanta, which for the last thousand years has dominated—and which still dominates, consciously or unconsciously—the Hindu mind. It may be thus briefly summed up. Being absolute, pure, void, unconscious, is the Ultimate Reality. The veil of *maya* hides it from us. The whole universe is a fleeting show. It seems, and is not. Humanity, society, civilization, are mere delusions. Man is "a wandering shadow in a world of dreams". He is an unreal actor on the semblance of a stage, as his soul transmigrates through an innumerable series of bodies. And the way of deliverance from this veil of illusion is entire detachment from the world and the things of the world, through a process of purificatory virtues which may be the work of many successive lives: the renouncement of family, of home, meditation, abstraction, the denial of desire. Thus does the sage lose all sense of individual personality, and return to the condition of simple soul. This is the *summum bonum*, the only real good—this loss of separate identity by absorption into the unconscious Absolute. In this connection William Samuel Lilly observes thus: "It is no great wonder that a people penetrated by these doctrines and beliefs should be unprogressive. It is no great wonder that such a people should have no history, no national polity, no science."

This is the greatest betrayal of India.

Now let us see how Professor Max Muller has betrayed India.

India was the Brahmins' Paradise.

I should like to call attention to the great value of the translations from the Sanskrit which find place in the forty-nine volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*. Those volumes are a vast monument of the learning and zeal of Professor Max Muller, and of the wisdom and liberality of the University of Oxford which enabled his great design to be carried out.

3 The Seeds of Betrayal

Let me now proceed to indicate some of the most salient features of the history of India. Our materials for the knowledge of Ancient India are very scanty. I can never say that Hindus did not produce historians at all. It will not be wrong to say that the *Puranas* are more or less ancient books of Indian History. William Samuel Lilly says in his book *India Past and Present*, "To the Hindu mind, essentially idealistic, filled with a profound conviction of the illusiveness of life and the unreality of phenomena, the procession and succession of events, the rise and fall of dynasties, the fate of empires, seemed a tale of sound and fury signifying nothing. Our knowledge of India till the evidence of languages and material monuments comes from legends beneath which facts may be traced in dim and uncertain outline, and from casual mention by writers of other countries." I need not comment on the above noted words written by Mr. Lilly. Even before the chroniclers of Islam wrote anything about India, we have hundreds of books touching the historical aspects of India. The most ancient books of history are the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The heroes of *Ramayana* are discussed every day in the Hindu families of India. Every year, during the days of Dussehra, the Hindus celebrate the festival not only in a religious manner but in a historical way also. The wars, the battles and the small skirmishes mentioned in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are all historical events, although under the influence of Western finances most of the Indian scholars have come to argue that these famous epics of India are nothing but fiction. Perhaps the Western mind is not prepared to believe that India was at the climax of its scientific progress during the periods of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*.

General Cunningham places the date of the *Mahabharata* as 1426 B.C. which is entirely wrong. Cunningham is betraying India intentionally. He does not, perhaps, like to entertain the idea that thousands of years before Christ India was not only a land of extraordinary brawn but a land of exceptional brains also. The *Ramayana* is earlier than the *Mahabharata*. It relates the invasion of Lanka by an Aryan Prince Rama.

Let me narrate the main story of these epics. In the *Ramayana* we find that Dashrath, King of Ayodhya begets four sons, Rama, Bharat, Laxman and Shatrughana. The king desires to coronate his eldest son Rama but on account of the intrigues of the youngest queen Kaikeyi, Rama is ordered to go to the forest for 14 years. And now, according to the wishes of Kaikeyi, the Kingdom of Ayodhya belongs to her son Bharat who is not present in the capital. Sita, the wife of Rama, also goes to the forest alongwith her husband. Rama's younger brother Laxman also follows Rama. These three persons of the royal blood live very peacefully in the jungle for 13 years. During the 14th year a princess of Lanka appears before them and the trouble starts. Laxman insults the princess of Lanka who makes a complaint to her brothers who are killed in battle when they attack Rama and Laxman. Now Ravana, the King of Lanka, comes to know how his sister got slighted at the hands of Rama and Laxman. Ravana makes his plans and abducts Sita. At last with the help of Sugriva, Rama plans to attack Lanka. Before the invasion of Lanka, Rama has to kill Bali, the elder brother of Sugriva in a treacherous manner by hiding himself behind a tree. Rama betrays Bali who had done no wrong to him. Moreover, Bali was not killed in a proper duel. Rama does not come face to face before Bali, after this we find that with the help of Hanuman, Sita is traced. Lanka is attacked by winning over Ravana's younger brother who leaks out all the secret of Lanka to Rama. It has become a general proverb in India, "*ghar ka bhedi Lanka dhai.*' It was Ravana's younger brother who betrayed him and therefore Ravana was defeated most miserably. Ravana's death is celebrated every year by the Hindus up to this day by making the effigies of Ravana and his brothers and by burning them on the day of Dussehra. In the second part of the *Ramayana*, we come to know that Rama betrays his queen Sita also even when she is pregnant. She is exiled into the forest where in Valmiki Ashram Sita gives birth to twins Lova and Kusha who later on defeat Rama's army when the sacrificial horse of Rama is moving in the jungle and they captivate it very audaciously. This is how we find from the *Ramayana* that Rama's sons were also betraying him even though this betrayal was unintentional. The story of the *Mahabharata* is as important as that of the *Ramayana*. During the period to which the *Mahabharata* refers there were many small states or principalities in India. Half a dozen at least are mentioned as belonging to the Gangetic region. The kingdom of Magadh was very famous during those days and later on it played a very important role in the history of India. The main story of the *Mahabharata* can be narrated in the following way:

Dhritrashtra is the elder brother of Pandu and is deprived of the kingdom of Hastinapur because he is born blind. Pandu gets the throne and after begetting five sons, Yudhishtar, Arjun, Bhim, Nakul and Sahdeva, their father Pandu dies. Now the throne of Hastinapur after Pandu has to be entrusted to Yudhishtar, Pandu's eldest son. Duryodhana, the eldest son of Dhritrashtra, cannot tolerate it. He feels that he must succeed to the throne. According to the law of the land, he does not get the throne as desired by him. Therefore, a great game of gambling is manipulated in which Yudhishtra looses all his kingdom, all his brothers and even his queen Dropadi. Now Duryodhana is the king who insults Dropadi openly in his *Darbar*. Krishna comes to the rescue of Dropadi. He tries to patch up all differences between Duryodhana and the five sons of Pandu. Duryodhana is not prepared to treat the five sons of Pandu like princes. According to a settlement, the sons of Pandu are exiled for 12 years and for the 13th year they have to remain incognito so that they may not be traced and known as the sons of Pandu. If they are recognised as the sons of Pandu, then the period of exile is to be repeated. All the five brothers fulfil the conditions of the settlement and on their return from the exile the sons of Pandu demand their throne which is denied to them. They are not given any status and any kind of maintenance. Hence the battle described in the *Mahabharata*. Krishna is favouring the sons of Pandu who in the end win the battle. In this context we have to mention that Dropadi the heroine of the *Mahabharata* is the wife of all the five brothers. We cannot say why she is so when she was won over by Prince Arjuna in a *Svayambar* according to which he and he alone was the winner of the bride. The marriage of Dropadi with all the five Pandvas is a betrayal of the Indian ideal of womanhood.

During the periods to which these famous epics relate, the Brahmins of India appear to have been a little more than animal sacrifices at religious rites. How and when they acquired political strength we cannot conjucture. They were certainly politically powerful when Buddhism appears on the scene of the Indian history, in the sixth century before the Christian era.

Shakyamuni afterwards known as Gautam Buddha was born at Kapil Vastu, a small principality situated on the southern slope of the Himalayas. I shall have to speak about him later on. Here suffice it to say that Buddhism was essentially a reaction against Brahminism. This reaction was more or less a betrayal by a prince who discarded his wife and ran away at night from the palace of his father. Why? The question is very simple but the answer seems to be very intricate. A Prince Shakyamuni must have been extremely restless on account of being a victim of intrigues hatched in the palace.

It was after observing austerities for six years under the forest trees that Gautam Budha was able to hit upon the idea of the Middle Path. He recognised many principles of Hinduism but he stood for the abolition of the caste system. His teaching—to quote Koppen's admirable words—"put spiritual brotherhood in place of hereditary priesthood; personal merit in place of distinctions of birth; human intelligence in place of authoritative Vedas; the self-perfected sage in place of the gods of the old mythology; morality in place of ritualism; a popular doctrine of righteousness in place of scholasticism; a monastic rule in place of isolated anuhorite life; and a cosmopolitan spirit in place of old national exclusiveness."

The Greeks give us trustworthy glimpses of India of the times preceding the Christian era. Shortly after the death of Gautam Buddha in B.C. 543 Darius Hystaspes invaded the Punjab and formed it as a part of his Greek Satrapy. 200 years later, Alexander the Great after conquering the Persian

Empire invaded India. It was King Ambhi of Texla who welcomed him and his forces because Ambhi wanted Alexander to attack Porus, the King of Jhelum. I have mentioned all the important historical events of Alexander's invasion in my book *Pyara Bharat* printed by Indian Press Allahabad, 1953. I have proved beyond doubt that Alexander the Great betrayed India at least thrice. First, when he entered India and conspired with Ambhi, second, when he attacked the armies of Porus at midnight, when all the Indian soldiers were sleeping under the guaranteed peace during a war. Third, Alexander betrayed us when he retreated from India on account of a revolt in his own army. While he was returning from India, Alexander had to face the joint forces of many Indian States somewhere near Multan or Sangla Hill. It was here that Alexander received some fatal wounds in the battle-field and he had to go out of India fearing his death which took place on the outskirts of India. Shortly after his death Eudemus, his lieutenant and representative at Texla was driven out of the country by Chandragupta Maurya who had captured the city of Patna after murdering all the kings of the Nand dynasty of Magadha.

Chandragupta Maurya was attacked by Seleukos, the Greek sovereign of Persia and Bactria. Seleukos had to make peace with Chandragupta Maurya who married the daughter of Seleukos and received at his court at Patna a Greek Ambassador named Megasthenes. This Greek Ambassador has left for us a good account of the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. Magasthenese has given complete details about the ancient city of Patna that is Patliputre. He was told that during those times there were 118 independent governments in the whole of India. He tells us that the army of Chandragupta numbered 400,000. He mentions castes, gives an account of the administration of justice and furnishes some curious particulars about taxation. Magasthenes has given us a graphic description of the elephants, chariots, and horses in the army of Chandragupta Maurya.

The world famous books *Artha Shastra* written by Kautilya (Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya) and the Sanskrit play *Mudrarakshasa* written by Vishakhadatta tell us how the foreigners were betraying India during the days when Chandragupta was establishing himself on the throne of Magadh.

Emperor Ashoka was a grandson of Chandragupta Maurya. His father Bindusar did not play any important role in the history of India.

Ashoka was the supporter of Brahaminism when he ascended the Throne of Magadha. He began his career as a king by masacring all his brethern. Then he began to extend his dominion by force of arms and attacked Kalinga.

The war of Kalinga taught a great lesson to Ashoka. Now he openly took under his patronage the religion of Gautam according to the instructions of his Guru Upagupta. It is after the conquest of Kalinga that Ashoka started a new chapter in his life. William Samuel Lilly tells us, "he is often called the Constantine of Buddhism and there is unquestionably a close and curious parallelism between the two monarchs. Each was probably much influenced by political consideration in declaring himself in favour of the new faith."

"The Wrathful," was the title given him in the early life and he unquestionably deserved it, but in his later days when his heart had been changed by the doctrine of Buddhism men began to call him "The Just". The monuments of his reign cut in the rock at his command are with us even today. From these monuments we come to know that he was just, merciful, liberal and tolerant. His inscription tells us, "The King, beloved of the gods, honours every form of religious faith, but considers no gift or honour so much as the increase of the substance of religion; whereof this is the root—to reverence one's own faith, and never to railat that of others. Whoever acts differently, injures his own religion, while he wrongs another's. The texts of all forms of religion shall be followed, under my protection. Duty is in respect and service. Alms and pious demonstrations are of no worth compared with the lovingkindness of religion. The festival that bears great fruits is the festival of duty. The King's purpose is increase the mercy, charity, truth, kindness, and piety of all mankind. There is no gift like the gift of virtue. Good is liberality; good it is to harm no living creature; good to abstain from slander; good is the care of one's parents, kindness to relatives, children, friends, slaves. That these good things may increase, the King and his descendants shall maintain the law. Ministers of morals shall everywhere aid the charitable and good. I will always hear my people's voice. I distribute my wealth for the good of all mankind, for which I am very labouring."

With the conversion of Ashoka (257 B.C.) began the alliance between Buddhism and the State in India which lasted for nearly a thousand years. We shouldperhaps err in calling Buddhism the established religion of any part of thecountry. But for long it certainly seems to have been, in many regions, the most favoured. We read of a prince called Kanishka, who was a very zealous Buddhist. "His dominions extended from Kabul to the Hindu Kush and Bolor Mountains, over Yarkand and Khokan; through Kashmir, Ladak, and the Central Himalayas; down over the plains of the Upper Ganges and Jamuna as far as Agra; over Rajputana, Gujarat, and Sind, and through the whole of the Punjab—a magnificent empire unequalled in extent from the time of Ashoka to that of the Moghuls." Under the fostering care of this and like-minded princes, stately monasteries arose throughout the land, in which crowds of monks spent their lives in teaching the law of the Buddha, and in developing those metaphysical speculations which have so irresistible an attraction for the Hindu mind. Missionaries went to and fro; and from Kashmir to Cape Comorin the gospel of Gautam was glorified. A son of Asoka is said to have evangelised Ceylon. And gradually the doctrine of the Buddha penetrated into regions much further from its original home; to Tibet and China, to all Eastern Asia from Korea to Siam. For glimpses of it in the land of its origin, during the early centuries of our era, we are indebted to the accounts of pious Chinese pilgrims who came thither in search of relics and sacred texts. Interesting in the highest degree are these records of the geography, history, manners, and religion of the people of India in those far-off times. And we may entirely agree with their translator, Mr. Beal: "Never did disciples more ardently desire to gaze on the sacred vestiges or their religion: never did men endure greater sufferings by desert, mountain and sea, than these simple Buddhist priests."

These Buddhist priests were betraying the Vedic culture and Sanskrit, the language of the Brahmin priests. Later on we find that the Brahmins uprooted Buddhism. Of far more importance was the pilgrimage of Hiouen Tsang. This most illustrious traveller was born in the year 603 of our era, at Ch'in Liu, in the province of Honan, and at the age of twenty received full Buddhist orders as a Bhikshu or priest. In A.D. 629 he left China on his perilous pilgrimage, returning in A.D. 648 with precious relics and statues of the Buddha, and with Buddhist literature, which formed a load for twenty-two horses. He found India divided into more than a hundred states, of which he has left us as exact an account as he could: geographical, social, political, historical, and religious. St. Hilaire calls him one of those "elect souls in history, few of whom have been able to carry disinterestedness so far towards the limit where nothing is known but the plain idea of goodness". It would appear that the most powerful monarch in India at that time was Harsha Shiladitya, the king of the country which Hiouen-Tshang calls Kie-jo-kio-she-kwo (Kanyakubja). The remains of its capital, Kanauj, may still be seen on the banks of the Ganges. Hiouen-Tshang received a cordial welcome from King Harsha, a zealous Buddhist, well read in the Sacred Books, whose virtues he celebrates in glowing terms. Of the capital city and its inhabitants he gives the following pleasant account: "It has a dry ditch round it, with strong and lofty towers facing one another. The flowers and woods, the lakes and ponds, bright and pure, and shining like mirrors, are seen on every side. Valuable merchandise is collected here in great quantities. The people are well off and contented, the houses are rich and well formed. Flowers and fruits abound in every place, and the land is sown and reaped in due season. The climate is agreeable and soft, the manners of the people are honest and sincere. They are noble and gracious in appearance. For clothing they use ornamented and bright shining fabrics. They apply themselves much to learning, and are renowned for the clearness of their arguments. The believers in Buddha and the heretics are about equal in number. There are some hundred Buddhist temples with 10,000 priests. There are 200 Hindu temples with several thousand followers." Harsha Shiladitya is stated to have reigned over Hindustan and the Punjab and to have exercised sovereignity over many princes beyond those regions. So much regarding Hiouen-Tshang and his travels. The general impression which he leaves on the mind is, that though he found Buddhism still a considerable power, it had fallen below the position which it held in Fa Hian's day.

This is the last glimpse we get of Buddhism in India. Four centuries afterwards, it is gone, and its orginal birthplace was deprived of its former glory. Its disappearance is one of the most curious phenomena in history, and is quite unexplained. There is a tradition of sanguinary and exterminating persecutions by the Brahmins. But the tradition rests upon no evidence. Mr Rhys Davids thinks, "In the eighth and ninth centuries Buddhism became so corrupt that it no longer attracted the people and when it lost the favour of the kings, it had no power to stand against the opposition of the priests."

It was Shankaracharya who worked day and night. He destroyed Buddhism within fifteen years by reestablishing the ascendancy of the Brahmins who had felt betrayed during the rise of Buddhism.

The historians ascribe a period of about 1000 years to the Buddhist supremacy in India. The Buddhists were betrayed by the Brahmins during the reign of King Harshawardhan of Kannauj who had patronized the religion of Gautam Buddha. It was on account of the preachings of Buddhism that the Indians became physically weak and about the year 1000 A.D. Mohammadan invaders found it easy to conquer India.The Hindus called them Mlechhas or Barbarians. Here we have to make some passing remarks about the Gupta Dynasty. These people had made a home for themselves in the north-west of Punjab. How they came here and how they established themselves on the throne of Magadha is not known to us. The usual conjecture was that they were immigrants from the old Graeco-Bactrain Empire who had become half Hinduised by betraying their ancestral religion. Anyhow, they would seem to have made a common cause with the Hindu princes and they might have fought side by side with them in the great battle of Korur in which the Indo-Srythiana were completely overthrown but the date of this conflict is only a matter of conjecture. It has been shifted forward and backward from 78 A.D. to 544 A.D. The truth is that historians are content with their guesses until the arrival of the Muslim invaders. The invasion of Sind by Mohd. Bin Casim is an important event in the history of India. This man was only 20 years of age when he invaded Sind. He defeated the King of Sind namely Raja Dahir and carried away with him to Baghdad two beautiful daughters of the Hindu king with a view to presenting them to his Master, the Caliph. Dahir's daughters were introduced into the Caliph's haram. When the eldest was brought into the presence of the Commander of the Faithful (Walid, the sixth caliph of the house of Ommeia) she burst into a flood of tears and exclaimed that she was now unworthy of his notice, having been dishonoured by Casim before she was sent out of her own country. The Caliph was moved by her beauty. Enraged because insulted by his servant Casim and giving way to the first impulse of his resentment, he ordered that Casim should be sewn up in a raw hide and sent in that condition to Damascus. When his orders were executed, he produced Casim's dead body to the Princess, who was overjoyed at the sight, and exultingly declared to the astonished Caliph that Casim was innocent but that she had now revenged the death of her father and the ruin of her family.

This catastrophe checked the advance of the Muslim invaders in India for about 300 years. Casim's conquered areas of India remained in the hands of his successor for thirty-six years when, upon the downfall of Ommeia, they were reoccupied by the Rajputs.

Casim's followers were not able to keep Sind under their sway even for half a century because they were betraying the people of Sind by corrupting them. Perhaps this fact also cannot be denied that Casim had conquered Sind only by winning over the betrayers from amongst the Hindus of Sind. The daughters of Dahir knew it fully well that there was a larger number of traitors in her father's country. She had to revenge the death of her father by betraying Casim who had not even kissed her.

William Samuel Lilly gives us a graphic description of our history in the following words: "The eldest princess of Dahir was convinced that Casim the conquer of Sind had betrayed the people of Sind by corrupting them. Hence this method of revenge was adopted by her."

The historian William Samuel Lilly gives us a graphic description of Mahmood of Ghazni (1001-1031 A.D.). Mr. Lilly writes thus:

"The next Moslem invaders of India were not Arabs, but Tartars, whom we may, with sufficient accuracy for our present purpose, call Turks. After the breaking-up of the empire of the Caliphs, which may be dated from the middle of the ninth century, there arose, among other independent Moslem governments, that of Ghazni, which under a ruler named Sebektegin, became a considerable power. Sebektegin was a slave, whom Alptegin, the ruler of Ghazni, himself originally of servile condition had bought from a merchant of Turkestan, and who displayed such skill in the arts, both of peace and war, that he rose to high offices of power and trust. It is related of him that "one day in hunting, while yet a private horseman, he succeeded in riding down a fawn; but when he was carrying off his prize in triumph, he observed the dam following his horse, and showing such evident marks of distress, that he was touched with compassion, and at last released his captive, pleasing himself with the gratitude of the mother, which often turned back to gaze at him as she went off to the forest with her fawn. That night the Prophet appeared to him in a dream, told him that God had given him a kingdom as a reward for his humanity, and enjoined him not to forget his feelings of mercy when he came to the exercise of power." He appears to have ruled his own people well. But he slaughtered and plundered the Hindus who dwelt on the northern bank of the Indus, and established a garrison at Peshawar.

"He was succeeded by his son, Mohammed of Ghazni, who assumed the title of Sultan. This prince made seventeen expeditions into India between 1001 and 1020 A.D. Of these, thirteen were directed to the subjugation of the western Punjab; one was an unsuccessful incursion into

Kashmir; the remaining three were 'short but furious raids' against Kannauj, Gwalior, and Somnath respectively. It is by his betrayal of India at Somnath that Mohammed of Ghazni is chiefly remembered. One of the few fragments of so called, Indian history, that have found currency in Europe, is the story of his breaking in pieces the idol of the great Somnath temple with his mace, after declining the ransom offered for it by its priests, to find the reward of his iconoclastic zeal in the treasure of jewels which poured to the ground from its interior. But, as modern writers have pointed out, the legend is a fond thing vainly invented, the idol of Somnath being merely a rude block of stone, one of the twelve *lingams*, or phallic emblems, erected in various parts of India. Another exploit of this Sultan Mohammed connected with his Somnath expedition, more or less popularly known in this country, is his carrying back the gates of the temple with him to Ghazni. It was these gates which Lord Ellenborough in 1842 proposed to send back to the place whence they came, after the storming of that town, as a memorial of 'Somnath Revenged' announcing his intention to the native rulers and people of India in a proclamation, the bombastic language of which excited general wonder and dissatisfaction. As a matter of fact, the gates, which appear not to have been the ancient ones, but a modern forgery, got no further than Agra, and are still warehoused in the magazine there."

But although the legend about the jewelbellied image of Somnath is a clumsy forgery, no doubt Mohammed of Ghazni amply merited his title of Image-breaker by the destruction of the idol of that temple and of many others. The one lasting result of his Indian campaign was the conversion of the Punjab into an outlying province of Ghazni. "He never set up as a resident sovereign in India. His expeditions beyond the Punjab were the adventures of a religious knight errant, with the plunder of a temple or the demolition of an idol as their object, rather than serious efforts at conquest."

"Mussulman historians extol Ghazni as one of the greatest sovereigns of any age. He appears certainly to have been among the greatest of his own. His military skill was unquestionably of a high order. And his administration of his kingdom displayed much talent for government. Notwithstanding the bloodshed and misery which he carried far and wide, he does not seem to have been wantonly cruel. Many anecdotes are current about him which illustrate his sense of kingly duty. One of the shortest, and not the least striking, is the following: Soon after his conquest of the Persian province of Irak, a caravan was cut off in the desert to the east of that district, and the mother of one of the merchants, who was killed, went to Ghazni to complain. Mohammed urged the impossibility of keeping order in so remote a part of his territories, when the woman boldly replied, 'Why, then, do you take countries which you cannot govern, and for the protection of which you must answer at the Day of Judgment?' Struck with the reproach, he made the woman a liberal present and took effectual measures for the protection of caravans." Another story about him illustrates his severity to military license. One day a peasant threw himself at the monarch's feet complaining that an officer of the army had forcibly entered into his house, more than once, to gratify a criminal passion for his wife. The king directed the peasant to say nothing, but to come to him directly the next time the officer made his appearance there. This the man did. Mohammed took his sword in silence, and wrapped himself round in a lose mantle, and the two went to the house. There they found the guilty couple asleep, and the king, first extinguishing the lamp, cut off the head of the adulterer with a single blow. He then ordered lights to be brought and on looking at the dead man's face, burst into an exclamation of thanksgiving, and called for water, of which he drank a deep draught. Perceiving the astonishment of the peasant, he told him that he had suspected his own nephew to be the criminal; that he had extinguished the light lest his justice should give way to affection; that he now saw the offender was a stranger, and having vowed neither to eat nor drink until he had given redress, he was nearly exhausted with thirst.

The great stain upon this prince's character seems to have been insatiable avarice. The love of gain, not of glory, was the chief motive of his wars. On the other hand, it is claimed for him that "if he was rapacious in acquiring wealth, he was unrivalled in the judgment and grandeur with which he knew how to expend it." The mosque called The Celestial Bride, which he built at Ghazni, was the wonder of the East. His court was splendid. He founded a university at his capital, and spent a large sum on its maintenance. He was illustrious for his munificence to learned men, and gained special renown for his patronage of Ferdousi. It was at his request that the poet composed the great epic, *Shahnamah*—a labour of thirty years. But the reward which Mohammed offered upon its completion was judged by Ferdousi altogether inadequate. He rejected it, and withdrew in indignation to his native city of Tus, where he composed a bitter satire against the too parsimonious prince. Mohammed, however, took no offence, but sent the bard a lavish present. It arrived too late. As the messenger, who bore it, entered by one door of Ferdousi's house, the poet's body was being carried out to burial by another. His daughter, the chronicler adds, at first rejected the gift, but subsequently accepted it, and devoted it to procuring a supply of water to Ferdousi's native city. The memory of Mohammed's avarice lived after him, and inspired one of the most striking stories in Sadi's *Gulistan*. A certain person, that poet relates, saw the monarch, then long dead, in a dream. He was a mere skeleton, save the eyes, which were entire. And those organs of covetousness, as Orientals account them, gazed eagerly from their sockets, insatiable and indestructible, like the passion which animated them. This is the example of a betrayal committed by a Muslim invader who had betrayed India on seventeen occasions. In India his main works were plunder and the betrayal of the Indians.

So much may suffice regarding Ghazni. Walter Sadgun Desai writes thus in his book *The Reconquest of India:* "After the death of Mahmud of Ghazni, India had a respite of about 150 years. There was some opportunity to close up the breaches, create a central power, reform the army, and drive the Arab and Turkish intruders into their sandy and stony homelands, as did the great Chandragupta Maurya to Seleucos about 1400 years earlier. No such patriotic movement, however, was set on foot. The Hindu princes licked their wounds, the temples were rebuilt, and the towns reinhabited. Things reverted to what they were before; feudal warfare, dynastic conflict, family feuds, etc. The north-western passes were no longer in Hindu hands. Without the effective control of those passes, Hindustan would be like a city broken down and without walls."

Meanwhile the power of Ghori was developing in Afghanistan. Muhammad Ghori, the founder of this power, was a man of quite a different spirit from Mahmud of Ghazni. Muhammad Ghori undoubtedly desired plunder, and also used religion as a convenient handle to encourage his followers. It is possible, he was not as great a soldier as Mahmud, but he had the vision of a statesman, and desired to create a permanent empire in Hindustan. It was clear to him that India, though wealthy and cultured, was politically in a rotten condition, and that in spite of all the bravery of Indian warriors, the country could be conquered and subdued. First, he conquered the parts of India held by Mohommedan chiefs. This took him 10 years (1176-1186), and the greater part of the Punjab and the whole of Sind passed under his control. This, however, did not give him the mastery over Hindustan. It was not all clear sail. The Rajput kingdoms, south of the Punjab, although wanting in unity, were not expected to give in. None could be braver than the Rajput, none more chivalrous; surrender or flight did not exist in his dictionary. But his was a feudal society. Herein lay his weakness. Had he possessed one-half of the organising ability of the Anglo-Saxon race, reinforced by a spirit of compromise, unity, and foresight. Hindustan could not have been snatched from his valorous hands. Hindustan would still have been under the rule of a Chakravarti sustaining the Hindu traditions of an Imperial Democracy. In about 1176, Raja Bhim Dev of Nehrwala inflicted a crushing defeat upon Muhammad Ghori. When, through Sind, Muhammad attacked Gujarat, the Raja of Anhilwara drove him out. But these were not much more than isolated episodes. He was not discouraged. He firmly believed that his destiny lay in India. In order to conquer Hindustan, Muhammad must subdue or slay Prithviraj, the bravest of the brave, the Chauhan ruler of the Kingdoms of Delhi and Ajmer, and the flower of Indian chivalry. He created a confederacy of the northern princes, but one of the most powerful of them, Jaichand of Kannauj refused to join him on grounds of personal quarrel. The first clash between Mohammad and Prithviraj took place in 1191 at Tarai near Thaneswar. The Mahommedans failed to stand before the thunderous charge of the Rajput cavalry. Both their wings were scattered to the winds by the impetuous Hindus. The Sultan himself very nearly lost his life, and his army was pursued full 40 miles. It was a complete rout. Muhammad was beaten and dejected but not discouraged. The very next year he came again. Prithviraj once again rallied the Rajput Rajas and the second battle of Tarai was fought. The Hindus depended upon numbers, valour and old methods. Muhammad depended upon the mobility of his cavalry, his feinting tactics, and his mounted archers. After a 12 hour ding-dong struggle, he wore out the defenders, and then scattered them with a desperate cavalry charge. Prithviraj was captuted and slain. All the country north of Rajputana immediately fell into the hands of the victor. It was an evil day for the Hindus and for Hindustan. The beautiful Hindustan was slain on the woeful plains of Tarai. There was no leader now courageous enough to bring another army into the field to stop the progress of the intruder. The envious and unpatriotic Jaichand of Kannauj might have rejoiced at the fall of his son-in-law. It is possible, he expected Muhammad to return to his mountain home, and leave the field open for him to acquire the Kingdoms of the fallen hero. It is possible, he trembled at the next development and realized that a deep chasm was in front of him, to be forded alone. But it was too late. His hour was drawing near. He must pay the price of his folly. The second battle of Tarai was decisive in its results. It laid the foundations of a Mohammedan dominion in India. Hindu hands were weakened. There the sword of Hindustan was broken, and the shield of the mighty was cast down. On the fields of Tarai, the debased Hindu political system as well as the highly organised caste system based on human inequality was weighed in the balances and found wanting. Ghori took the important fortresses of the Punjab, then advanced upon Ajmer, carried out a massacre, and plundered the city. He now placed his general Qutb-ud-din Aibek in charge of his valuable conquests, and himself retired to Ghazni. Qutb-ud-din rapidly occupied Meerut, Koli and Delhi, and made the last mentioned place the seat of his government. In 1194 Muhammad advanced upon Kannauj. Jaichand Rathor had to fight single-handed. He was defeated and slain. Ghori's eyes were upon the treasures of Benaras. He entered the holy city of Benaras, plundered and destoryed many temples, constructed mosques in their place and retired to Ghazni laden with priceless spoils of war.

Under the direction of Qutb-ud-din, the plunder, sack, and conquest of northern India went apace. In 1197 Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji, one of the generals of Ghori, conquered Bihar with the greatest ease. He butchered a great many Buddhist monk, destroyed monasteries, *stupas*, and images, set fire to the priceless university libraries of the Buddhists, and plundered the kingdom. Bakhtiyar Khilji conquered Bengal with even greater ease. The raja fled. He was even unaware of a danger, although Bihar, the neighbouring kingdom had fallen two years earlier. An enormous booty fell into the hands of the victors.

Can you believe it that Mohammad Ghori's success before the Rajput was the result of Brahminic betrayal of India?

A certain poor Brahmin got a good amount of gold from Ghori's soldier in exchange for a formula of success. What was it? The Brahmin told the Muslims: "Take a huge herd of cows and let the cows lead the Muslim Army. The Rajputs will not kill the cows. This will mean a victory of the Muslims".

Mohammad Bin Bakhtiyar Khilji's conquest of Bengal has been depicted by me at full length in my novel *Ab Tum hi Batao*. Bakhtiar entered Nadia, the capital of Bengal with twenty horsemen telling the gate-keepers that he was a dealer in horses. The old king Lakshmansen Pal (aged 72 years) was enjoying the songs of Radha and Krishna written by his poet Jaideva. On account of a sudden invasion by Bakhtiyar, the old king ran away and we do not know how he died.

In Bengal also the end of the Hindu rule was brought about by treachery and bribery. The Mohammedans knew how to discover the traitors of India. They bribed them and found out the loopholes of India. It has been rightly said by a poet that the "houses of the Indians were burnt by their own lamps."

This is the example of betrayal committed by a Muslim invader who had betrayed India on seventeen occasions. While invading India, his main job was plunder and betrayal. He never wanted to establish his rule over the Indians. He never desired to establish an empire in India. He was greedy for gold. He was nothing but plundereree. Whether his plunders were historical blunders or not I cannot judge because he was never a ruler of our people. India suffered at his hands because he betrayed our people not once but many times. The historians cannot excuse him for his betrayal of India. He died in 1030 A.D. while his dynasty lasted till 1186 A.D. when Ghori family conquered Ghazni.

Muhammad Ghori was a famous king. He ruled India from 1196 to 1205 A.D. His six Indian campaigns were not incursions for the sake of booty. He did not like to amass wealth like the greedy Mahmud of Ghazni. He wanted to establish a Muslim Empire in India. That is why he conquered the Rajput rulers of northern India among whom Prithvi Raj Chauhan was the ruler of Delhi and Jai Chand the ruler of Kannauj.

Jai Chand of Kannauj had a beautiful daughter named Sanjogita. He was a strong enemy of Prithvi Raj Chauhan. While announcing the *Swayamvara* of his daughter Sanjogita, Jai Chand invited all the Rajput rulers of India but not Prithivi Raj of Delhi. With a view to insulting Prithivi Raj Chauhan, Jai Chand ordered his officers to place a statue of Prithvi Raj as the gatekeeper of Jai Chand when Sanjogita's *Swayamvara* was going on. In reality Jai Chand's daughter was in love with Prithvi Raj Chauhan. When she took a glance at the Rajput princes, she did not like even one of them and coming to the end of the princely row, she came to the gate of the *Swayamvara* and garlanded the statue of Prithvi Raj Chauhan who was waiting outside for her. After a skirmish with the army of Kanauj, Prithvi Raj took away Sanjogita with him and married her. This was the cause of embitterment in the heart of Jai Chand who invited Muhammad Ghori to India so that he could take his revenge upon Prithvi Raj Chauhan. Upto this day every traitor in India is known usually by the name of Jai Chand. When anybody betrays his friends or his relatives he is usually called Jai Chand which means a traitor.

The result of Jai Chand's betrayal was the death of his son-in-law Prithvi Raj Chauhan.

When Muhammed Ghori died—as a matter of fact, he was murdered by a party of Gakkars, a mountain tribe with whom he had had some trouble—his slave Qutubuddin proclaimed himself as the king of India. In 1205 A.D. a slave coming to the throne of India was certainly an act of betrayal against his master. Qutubuddin is called the founder of the Slave Dynasty of India because in this dynasty the famous rulers were all slaves. It is not necessary to mention here all the conquests made by Ultumash. Suffice it to say, that his daughter Razia Begum came to the throne after her brother Ruknmuddin was murdered. Razia was not only brave and wise but was extremely beautiful also. It was an African Negro whom she began to love. He was the master of the stables and Razia was fond of horse riding. We connot say how the love started between the queen and the African slave. The Nawabs of Delhi began to feel jealous of the Queen who was not offering them any kind of love or respect. The result was that the governors of various provinces of the State began to revolt. Razia had to face the evil consequences and towards the close of her life she had to betray many princes and governors. At last she agreed to marry Altunia, the Governor of Bhatinda and it was in battle that she had to give up her life. It was in 1288 A.D. that Kaikobad, the last Sultan of Slave Dynasty, was assassinated by his general Jalaluddin Khilji. It was also the betrayal of a commander which placed India under the rule of Khilji Dynasty.

Jallaluddin Khilji sent his nephew Allauddin Khilji for conquest of southern India. When Allauddin returned from the south, his uncle Jalalluddin was very happy and greeted him openly in the presence of his army. The meeting of the old king and the young conqueror was indeed a wonder. Allauddin took out his sword and cut off the head of Jallaluddin in the presence of the soldiers and by placing the King's head on the point of his sword. Allauddin showed it to his soldiers and citizens. Perhaps history has not yet recorded such a fearful betrayal. The old Jallaluddin came only to congratulate his nephew on the latter's conquest of the Deccan, but the poor old Jalluluddin was butchered by his nephew. The old man was embracing the young man out of love. It will be extremely wrong to say that the young blood is an ocean of mercilessness. The historians have not recorded that Allauddin Khilji was a traitor not only towards his uncle but even towards all his citizens. This man was entirely faithless, crooked, merciless and a moving bundle of suspicions. He did not like his Jagirdars to have social relations with each other, never allowed his Nawabs to create matrimonial alliances because he feared their rebellion. He did not allow the Hindus to have the use of gold ornaments or even white clothes. During his reign, the Hindu officers could not even ride horses. Although Allauddin Khilji had conquered many parts of India he never conquered the hearts of the people. The Rajputs taught him a lesson of his life when he betrayed them by looking at the reflection of Padmini in a mirror. He captivated the Rana of Mewar. India cannot forgive him as he was the cause of Padmini's death in the sacrificial fire of Jauhar ceremony.

The Khiljis disappeared in 1321 and were succeeded by the Tughlaks. It was Gyasuddin Tughlak, a slave from Turkey who founded the Tughlak Dynasty in India. He had slaughtered the last of the Khilji Dynasty to ascend the throne. A strange incident occurred when he died. He was entering the new palace which was erected by his son Mohammad Tughlak for the reception of his father. The roof of the palace collapsed and Gyasuddin Tughlak was buried under the debris of the palace. It is said that the death of the father was planned by his son. It must have been true because by this time betrayal had entered the very blood of the people. In the royal families of the Muslim rulers, the son had no sanctity for the father's life. Later on also, we find that this kind of betrayal went on and on and the royal houses of India suffered miserably on account of the betrayal of princes.

The second king of the Tughlak Dynasty was Mohammad who ruled from 1325 to 1351. Mohammed Tughlak was one of the most extraordinary characters in Indian history. He is called the "wisest fool" of India. Why? Let me answer this question.

Mohammed Tughlak was the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his age. He was an admirable scholar of Persian and Arabic. He was well versed in mathematics and physical sciences as they were then cultivated. He knew Greek philosophy and had studied medicine also. He was a patron of learning and literature. He built many hospitals and alms houses. *Farishta* says:

"All these splendid talents and accomplishments were given him in-vain. They were accompanied by a perversion of judgment which, after every allowance for the intoxication of absolute power, leaves us in doubt whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity."

Mohammed Tughlak assembled a vast army for the conquest of Persia. It consumed his treasures. He dispersed the whole army for want of pay. This army of unpaid soldiers carried pillage and ruin to every quarter of India. This act of Mohammed was certainly a betrayal of the Indians.

After this Mohammad Tughlak sent another army of 100,000 men through the Himalayan passes to conquer China. It was a disastrous expedition in which the troops perished almost to a man. It was again a royal betrayal when the royal treasury became bankrupt and insolvent.

To relieve his insolvency Mohammad introduced into his kingdom a forced currency of copper coins which represented the gold currency of the crown. Every house in India became a mint for making the counterfeit copper coins which the people got exchanged for gold coins of the king. The result was financial embarrassment. Now the husbandmen were taxed most heavily with a view to replenishing the treasury. The farmers were beggared by his exactions. They abandoned the cultivation of their farms and fled to the woods. Mohammed Tughlak ordered a man hunt. "His army" says W.S. Lilly, "surrounded an extensive tract of the country and there gradually closing up towards the centre, slaughtered all the human beings within it, as though they were wild beasts." This action was certainly a betrayal of the people.

On one occasion, Mohammed Tughlak commanded a general massacre of the people of Kannauj because a few citizens had offended him.

Mohammed Tughlak compelled the whole population of Delhi to move to Deoghiri (or Daulatabad as he called it) in the Deccan. It was a journey of seven hundred miles through dense jungles, over high mountains and across great rivers. The people of Delhi were ordered to carry all their belongings along with them. When they reached Deoghiri, they were ordered again to go back to Delhi. What a wounderful king he was ! The net result of his reign was the dislocation of his empire. His fort at Deoghiri can be seen even today. It was built in the heart of a rock round a hill. The whole structure was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch cut also in the solid rock.

The dislocation of Mohammed Tughlak's empire was caused by a royal betrayal which was the result of the king's vanity. Perhaps the royal vanity was leaping towards lunacy. Or we may say that the wisdom of the overwise king had become entirely overripe and therefore it was proceeding towards destruction.

When the people saw that Mohammed Tughlak was betraying them at every step of life they began to raise the standard of revolt. Bengal revolted under a Mohammedan officer who became its sultan. The Hindu rajah of Karnataka asserted his independence and founded a new dynasty at Vijayanagar which soon flourished as a very great kingdom in southern India. The Hindu Rajah of Telingana established himself at Warangol.

Mohammed Tughlak's Muslim army in the Deccan broke into mutiny and set up a sultan of its own at Bijapur.

When the king betrays his people, rebellion and dislocation of the kingdom is the result and in such a condition, one man's betrayal becomes everybody's betrayal. In such a disorder, the seed of betrayal grows into the tree of treason which bears its fruit on all its branches.

Of the subsequent princes of the Tughlak Dynasty, the most notable was Firoz (1351 to 1388). He tried his best to pacify his people. He created 50 dams across the rivers to promote irrigation. He built 100 hospitals, 30 colleges, public baths and 150 bridges. He constructed the great Jumna Canal, part of which was restored even by the British rulers of India.

Ten years after the death of Firoz Tughlak, Timur invaded India with his Tartar hosts. After defeating the last Tughlak king Mahamood, he occupied the city of Delhi in 1398.

Timur's troops not only plundered Delhi but went on a general massacre of its people also for five days.

Timur's betrayal of Indian people was as dangerous as it was at the hands of Mahmood of Ghazni. Timur departed on the last day of the year 1398, carrying off a vast amount of booty and many men and women of all ranks who were reduced to slavary.

Timur did not form any permanant government in India. The Tughlak Dynasty continued to rule in Delhi till 1412 when it came to an end abruptly. The Sayyad Dynasty took its place and it ruled up to 1450.

The Lodhis ruled India from 1450 to 1526. The Lodhi Gardens in New Delhi speak of their builders.

It was Daulat Khan Lodhi of the Punjab who betrayed the Lodhi rulers of India and sent his people to Babar. When a cordial invitation had been sent by Daulat Khan to Babar, the latter invaded India in 1526 A.D.

I have depicted Babar and his son Humayun thoroughly in one of my historical novels. Babar was sixth in descent from Timur's line. On winning the first battle of Panipat, he founded the Mughal Empire of India. Babar was a man-lion. He was not only a conqueror but a good administrator also. He came to India not with the desire to loot or betray our people. His main aim was to establish law and order in the country. His eventful career can be judged by studying Babar's *Memories* which is a most fascinating autobiography ever written.

Babar was able to conquer the Rajputs not by means of his bravery but through an act of treachery which goes by the sweet name of diplomacy. His sun Humayun being grievously sick was given up as a lost case by the physicians. The magnanimous father solemnly offered his own life to the dying prince who forthwith began to recover.

Babar passed away in 1530 leaving his kingdom of India for Humayun who was turned out of India by Sher Shah in 1542. Before I record the achievements of the Mughal Dynasty, I have to note that during the period at which I have just cursorily glanced, Mohammaden rule never extended over the whole of India.

In the Deccan there were many rajas who were more or less independent. There were also, from very ancient times, three Hindu monarchies —the Cheras, the Cholas and the Pandyas.

The great Hindu state of Vijayanagar has been mentioned by Western scholars. It lasted from 1335 to 1565. In the time of its highest prosperity its dominions extended from sea to sea including well-nigh all the territories now known as the Tamil Nadu and the Andhra Pradesh. The greatest of its monarchs was Krishna Ray who restored the social and cultural values of India in the South.

On the south bank of river Tungabhadra stood the capital town Vijayanagar the ruins of which can be seen even today. An Italian traveller who visited this capital in the beginning of the 16th century describes its buildings as far surpassing in splendour anything which he had beheld in Europe. He tells us that it was 24 miles in curcumference enclosing several hills. This great city fell in 1565 before a combine of the five Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan who overthrew its king in the sanguinary battle of Tallikota. Great was the fall of Vijayanagar and the downfall of the Hindus in the South was brought about by the betrayal of the five Mohammedan "Sultans" so they styled themselves—of Bijapur, Golconda, Berar, Ahmednagar and Ahmedabad. These five kingdoms had been formed out of the territories of the Brahmini Dynasty founded by Hassan Ganga—one of the generals of Mohammed Tughlak. Hassan Ganga had successfully betrayed his master, Mohammad Tughlak—who had been weakened on account of his 'wisest follies.' Ganga became an independent Muslim monarch of the south in the year 1347. The extinction of his dynasty took place in 1526. But long before this date, as a matter of fact, the five Mohammedan kingdoms mentioned above had come into existence in the South and all of them had become practically autonomous.

We need not dilate upon the battles which took place between Babar and Rana Sanga. We have to pass over the historical facts that forced Humayun to run away from India on account of his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah Suri (1542-1547 A.D.). Let us mention here that Humayun was betrayed by his real brothers Kamran and Askari who never wanted him to be the Emperor of India. It was in Kabul that Humayun's brothers threatened to kill Akbar who was only a child of two years.

While going away from India, Humayun thought that the Sikhs of the Punjab could be of some help to him. Therefore he paid a visit to the second guru of the Sikhs. The guru was meditating and the Mughal King had to wait for hours and hours. When Humayun's patience was exhausted, he took out his sword with a view to killing the guru who on ending his meditation said "You act like a fool who knows not the betrayer's policy. You have betrayed the sword too. The sword has betrayed you. You never cared for the advice of your father who had already warned you about the seeds of betrayal in the mind of a soldier Farid Khan who has now ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Sher Shah Suri."

It was Guru Angad Dev who prayed for the welfare of Humayun. He predicted that it would be after an exile of fourteen years that Humayun would regain his throne of Delhi. He did regain his lost empire in 1556 when he returned from Persia with an army. It was given to him by the king of Iran after he passed fourteen years of his exile.

After Humayun's death in 1556 his son Jalal-ud-Din Akbar assented the throne of Delhi.

It was in that year that this boy of thirteen by the aid of his general, Beiram, won the decisive victory at Panipat—the second important battle of that name—over the Afghans, who had dispossessed his father, Humayun, of the throne of Delhi. The next year Humayun died and he succeeded as Emperor. His reign lasted till 1605, and was therefore almost contemporaneous with that of Queen Elizabeth. At first he was naturally much under the tutelage of Beiram, the ablest of his father's warriors and councillors. And his relations with this strong and masterful adviser curiously resembled those which existed between the present German Emperor and Prince von Bismarck, Beiram being the real author of the renewed greatness of the House of Tamerlane. He it was whose clear intellect, iron will, and unswerving steadiness of purpose, had reared again the Moghul throne at Delhi. But he had the defects of his qualities. Harsh, dictatorial, overbearing, he brooked no opposition, and those who ventured upon any, he put to death or sent into banishment. Akbar endured this thraldom for four years, and then found it intolerable. He was now seventeen. "He took occasion, when on a hunting party, to make an unexpected visit to Delhi on the plea of a sudden illness of his mother. He was no sooner beyond the sphere of the minister's influence, than he issued a proclamation announcing that he had taken the government into his own hands, and forbidding obedience to orders issued by any other than his authority." This fell upon Beiram like a thunderbolt. For a brief time he meditated upon various schemes for recovering his power. But as none of them seemed promising, he set out for Nagur, announcing his intention of going on a piligrimage to Mecca. While he lingered over his preparations for it, an imperial messenger arrived, bringing him a formal dismissal from his office, and a command to proceed on his pilgrimage without delay. He protested his submission to his master's will, and surrendered his standards, kettledrum, and other insignia of authority. But instead of embarking for Mecca, he raised an insurrection in the Punjab. Akbar proceeded against him in person. He was defeated by a detachment of the imperial troops, and threw himself upon his master's mercy. The Emperor sent nobles of high rank to meet him and to bring him to the royal tent. On his arrival there, he prostrated himself at the sovereign's feet. Whether by the reproach written on Akbar's face, or by recollections of their former relations, or by the realisation of his departed greatness, the strong man wept aloud. Akbar's made his seat next to the imperial throne. He was invested with a dress of dignity, assured that his disloyalty would be forgotten, and offered him choice of high office at court as one of the principal governments of the empire, or an honourable dismissal upon his pilgrimage. His proud soul elected to proceed to Mecca, feeling, no doubt, that his occupation in public affairs was gone. But in Gujarat, when about to embark upon that pious expedition, he was cut off by the knife of an Afghan assassin, whose father he had killed, years before, in battle. Now Beiram, the betrayer, met his end.

This is Akbar's character. A great prince, indeed; one of the greatest that ever swayed the rod of empire; great as a warrior; greater as an administrator; greatest as a man. It would take me far beyond my present limits to sketch, even in outline, the conquests of his long reign. I can only remind my readers, touching upon a few salient points, how before he was twenty-five, he had brought into subjection his turbulent military aristocracy, crushing his adversaries by his vigour, or attaching them to him by his clemency; how next he subdued the Rajput princes—all save the Rana of Chitur (or Udaipur) and turned them into loyal feudatories; how, subsequently he recovered Bengal and Behar, and reduced Kabul, which had revolted under his brother, Mirza Hakim, binding that turbulent prince to him by a generous pardon and a restored trust; how he added Kashmir to his dominion—this was in 1586—and conquered Sind in the north-west, and Khandesh in the south. The net result was that he ruled over territories extending from the heart of Afghanistan, to Orissa and Sind, and across all India, north of the Vindhyas. He divided the vast territory into thirteen provinces—Bengal, Behar, Berar, Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Allahabad, Oudh, Agra, Malwa, Gujarat, Ajmere, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, and Kabul which embraced Kashmir, Swat, Bajaur, and Kandaar. As Elphinstone well writes, "it was his noble design to form the inhabitants of that vast territory"—some 150,000,000 of them—"without distinction of race or religion, into one community." Hence, one of his chief cares was to put an end to the religious disabilities pressing upon Hindus under previous Mussulman rulers. Quite early in his reign he abolished the *Jazia* or capitation duty on infidels, an oppressive and irritating badge of Moslem supremacy. He abolished also the taxes on Hindu pilgrimages, giving as his reason that "although the impost fell upon a vain superstition, yet as all modes of worship were designed for One Great Being, it was wrong to throw an obstacle in the path of the devout, or to cut them off from their own way of intercourse with their Maker." On the other hand, like the strong ruler he was, he forbade certain Hindu practices which were obviously opposed to public policy and to the general welfare, such as trials by ordeal, child marriages, and the enforced prepetuity of widowhood. He carried, however, his respect for individual freedom so far as to permit *sutti*, if it was altogether voluntary. Upon one occasion, having heard that the widow of the Rajah of Jodhpur's son was betrayed by her father-in-law who pressed her to jump into the funeral pyre, he rode post-haste to the spot and prevented the intended sacrifice. He himself married into two Rajput princely houses, and one of his Hindu wives—the daughter of the Rajah of Jaipur—is said to have been his favourite queen. Hindus were largely employed by him in the public service, and were advanced to the highest and most responsible offices. His famous finance minister, Rajah Todar Mall—also distinguished as a military commander—the principal author of the land revenue settlement which, in some of its chief features, endures to this day, was a Hindu. So was Rajah Man Singh, one of his most trusted and distinguished generals, who ruled the province of Bengal from 1589 to 1604. In fact, we may say that in Akbar's reign was realised the august conception of civil and religious liberty worthily enshrined by Milton in words written after that monarch had passed away. "The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil liberty. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God? The other part of our freedom consists in the civil rights and advancements of every person, according to his merit." It is worthwhile to remember that while Akbar was soothing India's spirit and carrying out his enlightened policy in his Indian Empire, Queen Elizabeth was racking and hanging her Catholic subjects in England, and King Philip the Second was burning holocausts of Protestant victims in the fires of the Inquisition throughout Spain and the Low Countries. Even the measure of toleration granted in France by the Edict of Nantes (1598), fell far below the ideal of religious equality realised by the greatest of the Moghuls.

As might have been expected, Akbar's toleration in matters of religion was most unacceptable to the more rigid of his Mohammedan subjects. Akbar was obliged, in the interests of public peace, to adopt stringent measures for keeping the more fanatical of Muslim priests in order. It is not unusual for persecutors who are not allowed to persecute to complain that they themselves are persecuted. Such complaints were made against Akbar by the Mohammedan Scribes and Parsees. They must be largely discounted. Certain it is, that he effectively broke down their power, and banished the more refractory of them to distant regions of Central Asia. They, in return, accused him of apostatising from Mohammedanism, and of founding a new religion of his own under the name of The Divine Faith. But it is undeniable that throughout his life he conformed to the creed of Islam, and that he died in the free and open profession of it. Unquestionably, however, he held it in a very different spirit from that which animated, and still animates, the vast majority of its adherents. As unquestionably he displayed an intelligent interest in other creeds. The disputations held in his palace every Friday, when Christians, Brahmins, Buddhists, and Parsis expounded their views with as much freedom as Moslems, are witness to the openness and candour of his mind. He had much sympathy with the religion of Zoroaster. For Christianity he professed the utmost respect, and he manifested it by inviting Catholic priests to Agra and allowing them to build a church there. It is said, too, that one of the best loved of his wives was a Christian. The so-called sect founded by him does not appear to have really been more than a coterie of friends who held the Deism, of a Pantheistic type, which he regarded as the root of the matter, and which is the doctrine of the great Mohammedan mystics. We may fitly take leave of the subject of Akbar's religion in the well-weighed words of Elphinstone. "He excelled all his predecessors in his conception of the Divine Nature," and "the general freedom which he allowed to private judgment was a much more generous effort in a powerful monarch than in a recluse reformer."

In Akbar we have, I think, the well-nigh perfect type of an Indian ruler; and in his policy the true norm of Indian administration. I must not omit to notice how admirably Nature had equipped him for the great task committed to his hands. Strongly built, and handsome in person, he excelled in all manly exercises and feats of physical strength and skill. It is related of him that he would spring upon the backs of elephants who had killed their keepers and compel them to do his bidding. "He sometimes underwent fatigue for the mere pleasure of the exercise, as when he rode from Ajmere to Agra (220 miles) in two successive days, and in many similar journeys on horseback, besides walks on foot of twenty or thirty miles a day. His history is filled with instances of romantic courage, and he seems to have been stimulated by a sort of instinctive love of danger, as often as by any rational motive." He was extremely sober and abstemious in his personal habits, and was satisfied with very little sleep. Under the massive strength of his character, there ran a deep vein of tenderness. One of the most touching episodes in his life is his grief when Rajah Bir Ball, to whom he was deeply attached, was slain during a campaign against the Afghans. He mourned for him as David did for Jonathan, and was for long inconsolable. He greatly delighted in the society of learned men. Among his most intimate and cherished friends were the two brothers, Feizi and Abul Fazl. Both were persons of much culture, and to Feizi belongs the distinction of being the first Mussulman profoundly versed in Hindu literature. To Abul Fazl we owe the *Akbarnamah*, a detailed account of Akbar's home and history. Both were employed by him in weighty diplomatic affairs. Abul Fazl also obtained high military rank, and, for some time, held the office of Prime Minister. His great influence with Akbar earned for him the hatred of Selim, the Emperor's eldest son, and successor under the title of Jehangir; and he was cut off in an ambuscade instigated—though Akbar never knew it—by that prince. Akbar was deeply affected by the intelligence of his death, and for two days could neither eat nor sleep. Some years before he had sustained the loss of the other of the two illustrious brothers, and the narrative of his behaviour upon that occasion well illustrates the strong sensibility of his nature. It was midnight when tidings reached him that Feizi was in the last extremity, and caused him to hasten to the chamber of the dying man, who was already nearly insensible. Akbar raised his head and, addressing him by the endearing epithet 'Shekhji' said, "Why don't you speak? I have brought Ali, the physician, to you." But Feizi's speech was now decayed, no answer came. Akbar threw his turban on the ground in a passion of grief, and burst into lamentation. But the thought of the dying man's brother brought back his self-control, and he went off to sympathise, and condole with, Abul Fazl.

Akbar's revenue system conferred upon India the boon of simple and just taxation in the place of arbitrary and capricious demands made by former rulers upon the cultivators of the soil. The principal features of it were that the land was accurately measured and marked out, that the money equivalent of the share of the state was determined on fixed and rational principles, and that the fees formerly levied by the officers of the Government—a vast source of extortion and taxation—were abolished.

In the *Ain-e-Akbari*, or Regulations of Akbar, which forms the third volume of the *Akbarnamah*, there is a precise account of it. To that work also—made accessible to the English reader through several translations—we owe a minute and most interesting account of the establishment and regulation of all the branches of Akbar's service, "from the Mint and the Treasury down to the fruit, perfumery, and flower offices, the kitchen and the kennel," the whole—I am quoting from Elphinstone—presenting "an astonishing picture of magnificence and good order." Akbar's life, in the midst of the splendour of his court, was as simple as dignified. European travellers who visited him describe him as affable and majestic, merciful and severe, loved and feared of his own, terrible to his enemies. He lies buried at Agra, where so many magnificent structures were reared by him, in a mausoleum which is no unworthy sculpture of so great a prince. "It is a sort of pyramid," writes Bishop Heber, "surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends on a square platform of white marble, surrounded by the most elaborate lattice work of the same material, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material, and to the graceful forms of the Arabic characters which form its chief ornament."

There arose no king like Akbar among the Moghuls who came after him. His son Salim, who had embittered his last days by spasmodic betrayal of his father, succeeded him, and took the pompous title—I am not aware for what reason—the Jehanghir, 'Conqueror of the World,' by which name he is generally known. This 'Conqueror of the World' appears to have been, upon the whole, not a bad ruler, according to the Eastern standard of rule. He was equitable and tolerant to his subjects, because he was the son of a Rajput princess. But the old Tartar ferocity, of which we find no trace in Akbar, was strongly marked in him. Rebellious children are the great curse of Oriental dynasties, partly owing to the absence of the settled rule of succession now usually prevailing in the kingdom of the West through the custom of primogeniture. Khusru, Jehanghir's eldest son, who had endeavoured to supplant him even in Akbar's lifetime, broke into open revolt against him soon after his accession. The revolt was quelled within a month, and Khusru was brought in chains to Jehanghir at Lahore. In order to intimidate the young prince, Jehanghir ordered seven hundred of his principal accomplices to be impaled in a row, and caused him to be conducted along the line on an elephant, while a mace bearer, mocking the agonies of the sufferers, called upon him to receive the salutations of his friends.

In the sixth year of his reign Jehanghir married Nur Jehan, whose romantic history, and striking personality, merit a few passing words. This beautiful and accomplished woman was the daughter of a Persian nobleman who, reduced to poverty in his own country, emigrated to India to seek his fortune. Nur Jehan was born on the raod just as the caravan reached Kandhar. And as the father had no means of supporting the baby, or even of paying for her journey, she was exposed to the penury of the road. A principal merchant of the caravan, struck with the child's beauty, had compassion on her, and announced his intention of providing for her. He further provided for the immediate needs of her relatives, and, subsequently, introduced her father and eldest brother to Akbar. After holding some subordinate position in that monarch's service, they were advanced to higher ones, upon their merits becoming manifest to his judging eye. When Nur Jehan grew into girlhood she often accompanied her mother to the harem of Akbar, where she was seen by Jehanghir, who became violently enamoured of her. The news reaching the ears of Akbar, he thought it advisable to remove the damsel from the prince's sight, and caused her to be married to a young Persian of good family named Sher Afghan Khan, who had recently entered his service, and to whom he gave a *jaghir* in Bengal. In a few years Jehanghir succeeded to the throne, and shortly after that event, he determined to gratify his passion for the fair Persian, whom he had by no means forgotten, and directed his foster brother, the Viceroy of Bengal, to negotiate the matter with her husband. But in the course of an interview at which this was attempted, Sher Afghan Khan, so far from proving complacent, entirely lost his temper, and stabbed the Viceroy to death, himself being immediately despatched, in return, by the viceregal attendants. Nur Jehan, shocked at this tragedy, for several years rejected all Jehanghir's overtures; but in the event yielded to his importunities, and their marriage was celebrated with great pomp. Her influence over him was unbounded, and she was treated with a consideration never before shown to the consort of a Mohammedan sovereign. Her name appeared on the coinage beside the Emperor's, and he took no important step without consulting her. She was a woman of great natural capacity, and was usually a wise and prudent counsellor. Her power was, upon the whole, exerted for good. She repressed Jehanghir's caprice and tyranny, and induced him to be more sparing in the use of wine, to which as a young man he had been inmoderately addicted. Her personal devotion to him was unquestionable, and on one occasion she hazarded her life to deliver him from captivity to the rebellious general Mahabat Khan by whom he had been captured. At the end of his reign, she was much mixed up in intrigues having for their object to oust from the succession Shah Jehan, a son of Jehanghir who had married her niece, in favour of another and younger son, Sheriar, who had married her daughter by her first husband. But these intrigues failed, after causing a great deal of bloodshed, and on Jehanghir's sudden death of an asthma in 1627, Shah Jehan succeeded, and after slaying Sheriar, his only surviving brother, was firmly established upon the throne. I have depicted Nur Jehan's betrayal of India in my novel *Sulgate Baadal.* In that novel I chose the Sanskrit scholar Pandit Jagan Nath as its hero who married a muslim princess. Jagan Nath did not embrace Islam. On the contrary his wife embraced Hinduism. The Hindus betrayed him and he jumped into the Ganges after reciting the famous stanzas of his 'Ganga Lehri' with the help of which he had invoked the River Ganges which went on swelling as he was reciting his poetry. Nur Jehan's influenced waned when her husband died, to whose cherished memory she devoted the remaining nineteen years of her life. She was treated with the greatest respect by the new monarch, and was allowed a pension of £ 250,000 a year. Shah Jehan had proved himself a general of much ability during his father's lifetime. Among other achievements he had succeeded in bringing to an honourable termination the conflict with the Rana of Udaipur, the greatest of the Rajput chiefs, and following the wise policy of Akbar, had assured to the vanquished prince a high position among the military paladins of the Empire.

Shah Jehan's wars, chiefly with the potentates of the Deccan, need not detain us here. His civil administration of dominions seems entitled to high praise. The historian, Khafi Khan, declares that for the good order and arrangement of his territory and finances, and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared with Shah Jehan. And Elphinstone allows that after all deductions are made for fraudulent exaction by the collectors of revenue, and corruption in the ministers of justice, and for acts of extortion by custom house officers, and for arbitrary deeds by governors of provinces, "there will still remain enough to convince us that the state of India under Shah Jehan was one of great ease and prosperity".

Shah Jehan's fame rests chiefly upon the splendour of his court and of the structures which he erected. He was the most magnificent of the Moghuls and ruled his kingdom sitting in that wonderful peacock throne—a blaze of diamonds and precious stones—which is estimated to have cost six and a half millions sterling, and is reckoned among the wonders of the world. He rebuilt Delhi on a regular plan, and adorned it with edifices of unrivalled magnificence, among which may be specially mentioned the palace—now the fort—the Great Mosque, a work of extraordinary elegance and grandeur, and the Taj Mahal, "a dream in marble, designed by Titans and executed by jewellers". It is the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal—the niece of Nur Mahal—whom he passionately loved, and whom he lost after fourteen years of marriage, within twelve months of accession to the throne. Here I should note that his sons did unto him as he had done unto his father—and more also. His reign closed with a fratricidal war between four of them, resulting in his captivity by Aurungzeb—the third son—in which he languished for the last eight years of his life.

Aurungzeb's most pressing care after his usurpation was to get rid of his three brothers. In the first year of his sovereignty he put to death Dara. In the second he completely broke the power of Shuja, who fled into Arakan and there perished miserably. In the third Murad was slain in prison. Thus began Aurungzeb's reign of forty-nine years (1658-1707) under the title of Alamghir, 'the Canqueror of the Universe.' As a matter of fact, the portion of the universe which he conquered consisted of the Mohammedan kingdoms of Southern India. Three of these, Bedar, Ahmadnagar, and Ellichpur, had submitted to him before he attained the empire. It was not till 1680 that he annexed Bijapur. In the next year Golconda was subdued by his troops. His court was magnificent. His administration, at all events during the earlier part of his reign, was careful and exact. He was unquestionably an able, valiant, and accomplished prince. Mussulman historians regard him as the greatest of the Moghul rulers, greater than even Akbar. In this they are wrong. He was cretainly a more zealous Mohammedan. But his perfervid zeal is the secret of his failure as a ruler. He was a crowned and sceptred bigot. While extending his dominions, and carring his empire to wider limits than any of his predecessors, he undermined the foundations of his rule. He reimposed the insulting poll tax (*jagia*) on non-Mussulmans throughout his territories. He sought to exclude all except Mussulmans from the public service. He desecrated shrines and destroyed sacred images of the Hindus. He prohibited many of their religious festivals. The dream of his life was the conversion of India to the faith of Islam. The effect of his proselytizing measures was to create disaffection and alarm throughout the country. His character and career present a curious similarity to the character and career of Louis XIV of France, whose regin was almost contemporaneous with his. To the men of their own time, both seemed magnificent and illustrious. In Dryden's play of which Aurungzeb is the hero, he is presented as an ideal of magnanimity, and some of the noblest verses the poet ever wrote are put into his mouth. To Boileau, Louis XIV, was the embodiment of all kingly qualities: "Tout brille em; io. tpit est rpo", he declares. Far other is the judgement of history on 'the Conqueror of the Universe' and the 'Grand Monarque'. In each it finds the same unscrupulousness, arrogance, and cruelty; in each it detects theological fanaticism usurping the place of pure religion. It shows us how each, in the plenitude of his despotic egotism, by attempting to force his creed upon dissentient subjects, brought about the disruption of his realm and the ruin of his house. The palm of wickedness must be, indeed, conceded to the most Christian king. The ravage of Rajputana was as atrocious an act as the ravage of the Palatinate. But there is nothing in the exploits of the sixth Moghul to equal in turpitude the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the Dragonnades.

Aurungzeb's reign of half a century came to an end in 1707. He was then eighty-nine years old. "None of his senses", writes the historian Khafi Khan, "being impaired, except his hearing, and that in so small a degree that others could not perceive it." His last days were embittered by the not unnatural fear of such treatment from his sons as his father had experienced from him. It is related that not long before his end, upon Prince Azim seeking permission to visit him at Ahmednagar, where he was then encamped, on the ground of illness and desire for change of air, he observed "that is precisely the pretext I used to Shah Jehan."

Under Aurungzeb the real spirit of India was lost again as he betrayed India most openly. He wanted to convert all Hindus into Muslims.

There in no need for entering here upon the history of his successors to the imperial throne, the last of whom, Mohammed Bahadur Shah, died forty years ago in captivity at Rangoon. They reaped the heritage of trouble which he had sown. It was in Aurungzeb's time that the Maharattas came forward under Sivaji as a new Hindu power in Western and Central India; indeed the last twenty years of his life were employed in waging an unsuccessful war against them. Sivaji revived the spirit of India. The Rajputs in 1715 became practically independent. The Sikhs, a body of peaceful religionists, founded towards the end of the fifteenth century by Nanak were converted in 1710-1716 by a bitter persecution into an armed nationality. In 1729, the Persian, Nadir Shah, swooped down upon India, sacked and plundered Delhi, and retired with a booty valued at 32,000,000 sterling—Shah Jehan's peacock throne being among the spoils. India was betrayed again. Then followed a tempest of invasion by the Afghans, resisted successfully by the Maharattas until their decisive overthrow at the third battle at Panipat (1761), in which 200,000 of them are said to have perished. The victorious Ahmed Shah returned home without attempting to profit by his success. But, as Elphinstone observes, this third battle of Panipat really marks the close of the Moghul Empire. "Its territory is broken into separate states; the capital is deserted; the claimant to the name of Emperor is an exile and a dependent, while a new race of conquerers has already commenced its career."

When Bahadur Shah Zafar was captivated by the British rulers of India the spirit of India was again drowned in the ocean of slavery.

How India was betrayed by the British rulers of India shall be seen in the following words of Zafar.

Kitna hai bad naseeb Zafar
Dafan ke liye
Do gaz zameen bhi na milee
Kooye yaar men.

King Bahadur Shah Zafar's dead body was not buried in Delhi or in any part of India. The Britishers betrayed even a dead man.

4 Our Castes and Creeds

The uneducated Hindu is ready to worship anything. Mr. Wilkins, in his *Modern Hinduism*, relates: "An old Brahmin pandit and priest, with whom I frequently conversed on these subjects, told me that in his own daily worship he first made an offering to his own chosen deity, Vishnu, and that when this was done, he threw a handful of rice for the other deities to scramble for it; it was his hope, he explained, that by thus recognising the existence and authority of them, though he had no clear notion in his mind about any of them, he would keep them in good humour towards himself." This is how Wilkins mocks at us.

William Samuel Lilly betrays India when he writes thus: "The truth is that modern Hinduism is as complicated, as irregular, as multiform as the roof of a pagoda. We have seen that it is a development of Brahminism just as Brahminism was a development of Vedism. But it no more resembles its original than the rank vegetation of an Indian forest represents the original germs or seeds. Sects, rites, doctrines, are innumerable. Article of faith, fundamental dogmas, great lines of thought, there are none. Theism, Pantheism, Polytheism, Fetichism, NatureWorship, DemonWorship, Ancestor Worship, Animal Worship—all are there, dissolved, so to speak, in an element of Patheistic philosophy. The Brahmin seeking absorption in deity, the fakir earning the paradise of Siva by years of self-torture, the recluse honouring Vishnu by works of mercy, the Saktist revelling in sexual impurity, the Gond, the Pariah, on his knees before a shapeless stone—all are equally orthodox. Each of the huge army of deities is so various in his form and qualities, that he may be realised in another. Siva, the Lord of Death, is, as we have seen, the Lord of Life also; he is the Destroyer, but he is the Producer too. More, he is a great ascetic and the model of ascetics. But he is a great voluptuary, and is honoured by debauch. His five faces, six arms, three eyes, and thousand appellations express the variety of his attributes. Vishnu, again, the Preserver, the Force which upholds the universe—*rerum tenax vigor*, as the Latin poet sings—is known in his incarnations, and especially in the form of Rama and of Krishna. But the worship and legends of these two deities have become almost indefinitely varied and multiplied. The beliefs which have grown round the trunk of Vaishnavism—if I may so speak—are countless. It has associated elements of Buddhism, of Mohammedanism, nay, of Chrsitianity. For surely, there is something more than an analogy between Christianity and Krishna worship; while the Lutheran and the Krishnaite doctrines of the all sufficiency of faith are most curiously alike in their essential antinominism. It is significant that learned Brahmins have been quite willing to regard Christ himself as an incarnation of Vishnu for the benefit of the Western world. . .

"When we speak of Hinduism as a religion, the word has a much more restricted sense than that which it bears when we apply it to Buddhism, Mohammedanism, or Christianity. In all those creeds there is an ethical element. In modern Hinduism there is none. In this faith there is an absolute divorce between religion and morality. In it murder may assume the character of a religious duty—as, for example, among the Thugs. So may theft. There were sects like the Thugs that have been suppressed by the strong arm of the British Government—who honoured Siva by larceny. The promiscuous intercourse of the sexes is a chief incident of the religious festivities of the Saktists. Dancing girls are among the endowed ministers of temple worship; and commerce with them is regarded as meritorious, as an act of devotion to the idol whose brides they are. Modesty, as we understand it, the Hindus know not. Their religion does not limit a married man to exterior decency, to say nothing of conjugal fidelity. Things which in the language of the Apostle it is shame even to speak of, are done by them not in secret but openly. All daily reverence the *lingam* and the *yoni.* The native conception of the sexes is merely animal. Love in the sense which it bears in the Western world—as hallowed by Christianity and disciplined by chivalry—is unknown in Hindu life. Children are married, and are immediately separated until they arrive at maturity. Then they are brought together, but the wife is merely her husband's first servant. The widow is an outcast and object of loathing, the very sight of her is an ill omen. In fact the religion of the ordinary Hindu is supersitition, as Cicero defines it: *vanus deorum timor*. Vain fear of unseen powers, and the desire of propitiating them, rule his life. This is the foundation upon which the power of the Brahmins rests. The world, a well-known text declares, is under the power of the gods; the gods are under the power of the mantras; the mantras are under the power of the Brahmins; therefore the gods are under the power of the Brahmins."

I have come forward to prove that India was a Brahmin's Paradise. Now the Paradise of the Brahmins is lost forever.

Very conspicuous persons in modern Hinduism are the religious mendicants. There are millions of them, of various kinds, described by a learned Hindu gentleman, Mr. Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya, in his valuable book on Hindu castes and sects, as "sleek in body and pestilential in morals". This authority proceeds: "When a mendicant has acquired a character for sanctity by anyone of the usual processes, he has only to give out that he has found an idol by miracle, with injunctions to erect a temple to it. The necessary funds for the purpose being never supplied miraculously to the devotee, he invites subscriptions from the pious; and when the temple is built, a part of it naturally becomes his dwelling house. With the further contributions made by the visitors to the shrine, he is enabled to live in comfort. When a shrine is in the struggling stage, the high priest generally leads a pure life; and spends a large part of his income in feeding the poor pilgrims. But the high priests of the temples that have a well-established character for sanctity, are usually just the kind of men that they ought not to be. There are thus five stages in the careers of the successful monks and nuns. First the beggar, then the charlatan, then the temple-promoter, then the princely high priests, and last of all the debauchee. The theme is one to which justice could be done only by the genius of a Shakespeare."

Don't you think that Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya is betraying India with these words? These pungent remarks of this extremely well-informed Hindu gentleman can never be accepted without reservation. All religious mendicants in India are not of that type. There is much fanatical asceticism which is perfectly sincere. Some devotees have given proof of their sincerity by causing themselves to be buried alive. Others have practised, and still practise, the most horrible self-torture. Here we quote the words of Professor Max Muller in his Westminster Abbey Lecture, "It is true there are millions of children, women, and men in India who fall down before the stone image of Vishnu, with his four arms, riding on a creature, half bird half man, or sleeping on the serpent; who worship Siva, a monster with three eyes, riding naked on a bull, with a necklace of skulls for his ornament. There are human beings who still believe in a god of war, Kartikeya, with six faces, riding on a peacock, and holding bow and arrow in his hands; and who invoke a god of success, Ganesa, with four hands and an elephant's head, sitting on a rat. Nay, it is true that in the broad daylight of the nineteenth century, the figure of the goddess Kali is carried through the streets of her own city, Calcutta, her wild, dishevelled hair reaching to her feet, with a necklace of human heads, her tongue protruded from her mouth, her girdle stained with blood. All this is true, but ask any Hindu who can read, and write, and think, whether these are the gods he believes in, and he will smile at your credulity. How long this living death of national religion in India may last, no one can tell." Professor Max Muller foolishly speaks of the "living death of the national religion in India." Hinduism in India is an ever lasting religion.

Anyone, who wants to realise what modern Hinduism is, would do well, should opportunity offer, to visit Varanasi, its centre, its very heart—Varanasi, the sacred city on the sacred Ganges; more hallowed by the countless votaries who flock thither than Jerusalem by the ancient Hebrew, than Mecca by the Moslem or Rome by the Catholic, of our own day. So holy is it that death on the soil of Varanasi is the salvation of life, the abundant entrance to the Paradise of Siva. This marvellous city was already famous when Rome was a mere collection of shepherds' tents, when Mecca was an unwalled village, nay, long before Joshua smote Adoni Zedec, King of "Jebusi, which is Jerusalem," with his four confederate chieftains, and slew them and hanged them to five trees. Wonderful, indeed, is the spectacle which Varanasi presents with its Brahmins; its temples and innumerable shrines; its idols, of all varieties of hideousness and obscenity; its streets full of pilgrims jostled by sacred cows who feed peaceably on their offerings, and by gambolling and gibbering apes; its clear air darkened by the columns of smoke from the funeral pyres which are turning the devout dead into ashes to be mingled with its sacred stream, in whose lustral waters thousands of the devout living are seeking to wash all their sins away.

There is, however, another consideration which must not be lost sight of, when we survey the gloomy and repulsive, the absurd and obscene features of modern Hinduism. And I do not know who has better expressed it than Mira who sings thus before the image of Lord Krishna.

"I have abandoned my love, my wealth, my kingdom, my husband. Mira, thy servant, comes to thee, her refuge; Take her wholly to thyself; If thou knowest me to be free from every stain, accept me. Except thee no other will have compassion on me; pity me, therefore. Lord of Mira, Her well-beloved, accept her; and grant that she be no more parted from thee forever;" Upon this the image nodded, and Mira Bai disappeared behind it.

Let us now examine briefly, the principal non-Christian creeds other than Hinduism, which are professed in India. These are Buddhism, Jainism, Mohammedanism, the religion of the Sikhs, and the religion of the Parsis. I shall not think it necessary to dwell upon the various forms of fetishism found among the less civilised tribes, such as the Bheels, who adore stones smeared with red lead and oil.

Of all the religions of the East, Buddhism is perhaps the most interesting to the Western world. Through "the mists of fabling time", the great figure of its founder shines, clear and distinct upon us, in this far-off twentieth century, wins the homage of the best men of the most various schools of thought. Philosophers like Schopenhauer, and physicists like Huxley, have been content to sit at Buddha's feet and to learn of him; It is no wonder that for twenty-five centuries, his personality and his religion have afforded more widely than any other, stay in life and hope in death, to "troublous and distressed mortality": it is no wonder that 90,000,0000 of the human race still turn to him with the disinterestedness of pure affection, as the highest and noblest ideal of which they have knowledge. What the faith of the Buddha really is to his followers, has been told in the fascinating pages of Mr. Fielding's work *The Soul of a People*.

In his work, *Ancient Religion and Modern Thought*, William Samuel Lilly writes thus: "The foundation of the gospel of the Buddha is the illusoriness of the world, the subjection of all that is to the great law of mutability, the misery inseparable from the condition of man so long as he remains in 'the whirlpool of existence.' In the account which is given of the workings of his mind in the first watch of the great night which he spent under the bo-tree, he is represented as going through the chain of 'the Twelve Causes and Effects', and tracing back all the evil that is in the world to ignorance, the prime illusion, the fundamental error of those who cling to individual existence. And in his sermon to the seventy Brahmins he declares, 'to know as truth that which is true, this is perfect rectitude, and shall bring true profit.' And then he goes on to point out as the primary truth—'Everywhere in the world there is death, there is no rest in either of the three worlds. The gods, indeed enjoy a period of bliss, but their happiness must also end, and they must also die. To consider this as the condition of all states of being, that there is nothing born but must die, and therefore to desire to escape birth and death, this is to exercise oneself in religious truth.' For death is in itself no deliverance from the burden of being. To die is merely to pass from one state of existence to another. So long as tanha—thirst, passion, desire—remains, the source of being remains. To root out 'tanha' is the only way of escaping 'the yawning gulf of continual birth and death'. It is this which is expressed in the Four Truths, thought out by the Buddha, in that great night after he had followed the Twelve Causes and Effects—the Four Noble Truths, as they are called, regarding Suffering, the Causes of Suffering, the Cessation of Suffering, and the Path which leads to the Cessation of Suffering, which may be reckoned great fundamental doctrines of the Buddhist Church.

"But there are two other tenets of no less importance. In common with almost all Oriental thinkers, the Buddha believed in Transmigration—a hypothesis in support of which a certain amount of evidence may be adduced, and which, as Mr. Rhys Davids observes, 'is incapable of disproof, while it affords an explanation, quite complete, to those who can believe in it, of the apparent anomalies and wrongs in the distribution of happiness or woe.' The doctrine of Karma, which plays so great a part in Buddhism, and which is the main source of its moral excellence, is the complement of the doctrine of Transmigration, and the link which connects it with the 'Four Noble Truths.' It is the teaching of the Buddha that there is no such thing as what is commonly called a soul. The real man is the net result of his merits and demerits, and that net result is called *Karma.* A god, a man, a beast, a bird or a fish—for there is no essential difference between all living beings—is what he does, what he has done, not only during his present existence, but very far more, among his countless previous existences in various forms. His actual condition is the result of the deeds done in his former births, and upon his present deeds, plus the past, will depend his destiny in future existence, divine, human, or animal. And the character of his acts depends upon his intention. 'All that we are', the Teacher insists, 'depends upon what we have thought.'

"Thus life in all its grades, from the highest to the lowest, is, in the strictest sense, a time of probation. 'Two things in this world are immutably fixed,' the Buddha is reported to have said upon another occasion, 'that good actions bring happiness and that bad actions bring misery.' In the pregnant Buddhist phrase, 'we pass away, according to our deeds,' to be reborn in heaven, or in hell, or upon the earth, as man or animal, according to our *Karma*. To say that a man's works follow him when he dies, that what he has sown here he shall reap there, falls far short of this tremendous doctrine. His works are himself, he is what he has sown. All else drops from him at death. His body decays and falls into nothingness, and not only his material properties (*Rupa*) but his sensations (*Vedana*), his abstract ideas (*Sanna*), his mental and moral predispositions (*Sankhara*), and his thought or reason (*Vinnana*), all these constituent elements of his being pass away. But his *Karma* remains, unless he has attained to the Supreme state of Arahat—the crown of Buddhist saintship—when *Karma* is extinguished and *Nirvana* is attained."

Such is *Karma*—a great mystery, which the limited intellect of ordinary man can hardly contemplate; only the perfectly enlightened mind of a Buddha can fully fathom it. As I observed, it is closely connected with the Four Noble Truths. The cause of demerit is *tanha*, which appears to present some analogy to concupiscence, as Catholic theologians define it; "a certain motion and power of the mind whereby men are driven to desire pleasant things that they do not possess." That is the cause of sin, of sorrow, and of suffering. To root out this thirst is the only way to obtain salvation, release from the evil which is of the essence of existence, and, as the fourth of the Noble Truths teaches, "the means of obtaining the individual annihilation of desire" is supplied by the eight-fold Path of Holiness. Abolition of self, living for others, is the substance of the Buddhist plan of salvation. Scrupulously avoiding all wicked actions, reverently performing all virtuous ones, purifying our intention from all selfish ends—this is the doctrine of all the Buddhas. Thus does man conquer himself; and, "having conquered himself, there will be no further ground for birth".

Buddhism proper, as we saw previously, has disappeared from the land of its birth because it was considered as a betrayal of Vedism. It survives in India only in the form of Jainism—if indeed we are correct in regarding Jainism as a survival of it. That is a point on which scholars differ, and which is not likely to be conclusively settled. What is certain is that Jainism came into notice when Buddhism had disappeared from India, and that the affinities between the two systems are very striking. The chief difference between them is that the Jains observe caste. The Jina, or Conquering Saint, is in the Jain system what the Buddha is in the Buddhism. He is the Perfect One who has subdued all worldly desires; who has completely effected that liberation (*moksha*)—the highest end and aim of intelligent being—by means of right intuition, right knowledge, and right conduct. And the chief canons of this right conduct are: Do harm to no living thing; Do not lie; Do not steal; Be temperate, sober, and chaste; Desire nothing inordinately. All which certainly sounds like an echo of the teaching of the Buddha. Jainism now numbers about three million and a half adherents in India, among whom are some of the wealthiest and most cultivated people of India. Several fine Jain temples have been built in our country.

From the Buddha, the gentle Aryan sage, to Mohammed, the fierce Semitic warrior, is a vast descent. Still, only inveterate prejudice can blind us to the real spiritual greatness of the Founder of Islam.

The doctrine of Mohammed has been summed up epigrammatically and correctly by Deutsch: "Judaism as adapted to Arabia." Its essence is a severe and lofty theism. The Divine Unity, making, upholding, governing all things perfectly, is the rock on which Mohammed builds his shield and hiding place. The consciousness of dependence upon the Absolute and Eternal is the keynote of Islam. It is all briefly comprehended in the two words, "Allah Akbar". Religion meant for Mohammed self-chosen submission to the will of a Moral Governor of the Universe. The sovereignty of God and the free volition of man are the postulates of his system. It was the unquestioning belief in this living and life-giving Theism taught by him—a belief summed up in the formula, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Prophet of God"—that sharpened the swords of the earlier Moslems and gave them victory in the battle. "It must be confessed," writes a distinguished Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Isaac Taylor, "that over a large portion of the world, Islam, as a missionary religion, is more successful than Christianity. It is eminently adapted to be a civilizing and elevating religion for barbarous tribes. When it is embraced by a Negro tribe, paganism, devil worship, fetichism, cannibalism, human sacrifices, infanticide, witchcraft, at once disappear. Hospitality becomes a religious duty, drunkenness becomes rare, gambling is forbidden, immodest dances and the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes cease, female chastity is regarded as a virtue; polygamy and slavery are regulated, and their evils are restrained. All the more civilized tribes of Negros, the Mandingoes, Foulahs, Jolofs, and Houssas are Moslems, while in Lagos the hold of Christianity is feeble, and in Sierra Leone Christianity is actually receding before Islam. How little have we to show for the vast sums of money and all the precious lives lavished upon Africa! Christian converts are reckoned by thousands; Moslem converts by millions."

These "Moslem converts by millions" rose to power during the British period of Indian history. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, an Advocate of Bombay organized the Indian Moslems in such a way that he was able to carve out a new Muslim country, Pakistan, out of India in 1947.

In India there are over seventy millions of Moslems. Islam, of course, has not escaped the influence of its environment in India. It has adopted various superstitious practices. It has, to some extent, declined from the sternly ascetic standard laid down in the *Quran*. But Indian Mussulmans manifest a manliness, a self respect, a devotion to duty. Sir Alfred Lyall writes in his *Asiatic Studies:*

"The Mohammedan faith has still at least a dignity, and a courageous, unreasoning certitude which in Western Christianity have been preceptibly melted down and attenuated, by the disease of casuistry, and by long exposure to the searching light of European rationalism: whereas the clear, unwavering formula of Islam carries one plain line straight up forward heaven, like a tall obelisk pointing direct to the sky, without shadow of turning. It thus possesses a strong attraction for Hindus, who are seeking an escape from the labyrinth of sensual Polytheism, but who yet require something more concrete and definite than is offered by their indigenous speculations about Deism or Pantheism: while the vigour and earnestness of the message announced so unflinchingly by Mahomed, conquer the hearts of simple, and warm the imagination of devout truth-seekers."

Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in his *History of India*, goes further: "The people of India", he writes, "are drifting slowly but surely towards the religion of Islam, rather than towards Christianity. Few impartial observers will deny this fact."

This is not only a betrayal of India but a murderous attack also on the Hindu by means of a poison pen. We have always met the betraying forces very courageously. When the Muslim rulers were betraying their Hindu subjects Mohammedanism seemed a probable solution of the problem. Ramanand, Kabir, Chaitanya, the great medieval missionaries, appealed to the adherents of both creeds alike. The Sikh religion is, in fact, the result of such a fusion. Nanak, its founder, a Hindu, who died at Kartarpur, on the banks of the Ravi, in the year 1539, described himself as a successor of Mohammed, though one of his first sermons is said to have been on the thesis; "There are neither Hindus nor Mohammedans". Undoubtedly he derived from the Prophet of Islam the strict monotheism which is the foundation of his teaching. The *Adi-Granth*, the Sikh Bible, describes God as "One, sole, self-existing, the meaning and the cause of all, who has seen numberless creeds and names come and go". It insists upon the brotherhood of men, does not recognise caste, and inculcates pure and simple ethics. The *Adi-Granth*, (lit. the Fundamental book) was not published till the time of Nanak's fifth successor, Guru Arjun (1584-1606), and the script in which it is written is now called Gurmukhee. It consists of the political pieces left by Nanak and the Gurus who succeeded him, including compositions by Arjun himself, and of selections from the writings of certain Hindu teachers.

"Since the publication of the Granth," writes Barth, "there cannot, in a dogmatic reference, be any longer, much question of the profound influence of Islam on the thinking of the founders of this religion. But from first to last, both as regards the form and the foundation of its ideas, this book breathes the mystic pantheism of the Vedanta, reinforced by the doctrines of Shakti, of grace, and of absolute devotion to the guru. It is especially distinguished from the sectarian literature in general, by the importance which it attaches to moral precepts, by the simplicity and spiritualistic character of a worship stripped of every vestige of idolatry, and especially by its moderation with regard to mythology, although we find in it a considerable number of the personifications of Hinduism, and even detect at times a sort of return to the Hindu divinities. But it would be difficult to eliminate from all this what is due to Mussulman influence . . . The worship of the Sikhs is simple and pure. With the exception of Amritsar, which is the religious centre of the nation, and a few sanctuaries in places consecrated by the life or the death of gurus and martyrs, they have no holy places. Their temples are houses of prayer. Here they recite pieces and sing hymns extracted from the Granth; and the congregation separates after each believer has received a piece of the *karah prasad*, the effectual offering,' a kind of pastry ware consecrated in the name of the guru. As tolerant as they were formerly fanatical, they do not object to admit to their religious services strangers, whom they allow even to participate in their communion. It is true that under this tolerance there lies concealed no little lukewarmness, and that, in the opinion of the best judge of this matter, Dr. Trumpp, the translator of the Adi Granth, 'Sikhism' is a religion which is on the wane."

Barth has betrayed Sikhism, the only progressive religion of India. The westerners of today take a Sikh to be a real Indian. Betraying the Sikhs means ditching the Indians.

The Parsis of India are the descendants of those Zoroastrian exiles, who, in the seventh Christian century, after the destruction of the Sassanid dominion, sought a refuge in India from the proselytizing violence of the conquering Mussulmans. And, during all these years, they were loyal to the monotheistic faith of their fathers, and the monogamous structure of the family, although borrowing some Hindu and some Mohammedan customs. The Zoroastrian religion exhibits in the judgement of Geiger, "a purity and sublimity of religious thought such as no nation of antiquity in the East, with the single exception of the Israelites, has been able to attain to; embracing conceptions approximating closely to a pure monotheism, representing the Deity as free from human adjuncts, and working out the spiritual part of theology with exactness and precision". Its Sacred Books were sealed to the Western world, until towards late in the last century, Anquetil Duperron, a young Frenchman, without money, without friends, but modestly equipped with scholarship conceived the design of penetrating their secrets, and of unveiling their mysteries. There are few more romantic stories than his in the history of scholarship. And though his translation of the *Zend Avasta*, published in 1771, is often wide of the sense of the original—which is not wonderful, seeing that he possessed neither grammar nor dictionary of its language—he laid securely the foundation upon which many illustrious scholars have since built. "The importance," writes Professor Darmesttetter, "of the Avesta and of the creed of those scanty people the Parsis, in the eyes of the historian and the theologist, is that they present to us the last reflex of the ideas which prevailed in

India during the five centuries preceding, and the seven following the birth of Christ: a period which gave to the world the Gospels, the Talmud, and the Quran: . . . enabling us to go back to the very heart of that most momentous period in the history of religious thought which saw the blending of the Aryan with the Semitic, and thus opened the second stage of Aryan thought."

The Aryan thought was never blended with the Semitic schools of philosophy.

Zoroaster himself is of course a somewhat shadowy person to us, though there can be no question as to his historic reality. In the venerable document known as *The Five Gathas*, we possess a record of his actual teaching. Dr. Haug inclines to consider him a contemporary to Moses. Pliny places him several thousand years earlier. Bunsen writes, "Zoroaster the prophet cannot have lived later than B.C. 3,000 (250 years before Abraham therefore), but 6000 to 5000 years before Plato may very likely be more correct, according to the statement of Aristotle and Eudoxus." What is certain is that he was the preacher of Monotheism to his people—the antique Aryans who were the ancestors alike of Iranians and Indians. And it is probable that his reform produced the schism between the worshippers of the Vedic Gods and the worshippers of Ormuz. Most curious is it to reflect how, after long centuries, the remnant of the posterity of those who had followed his reform, were driven to accept the hospitality of the descendents of those who had rejected it. Of course, the importance of the religion of the Parsis is historical. They have never sought to make proselytes in the country of their exile; nor is their creed likely to exercise any influence in future in India. In number—as we have seen—they constitute an insignificant minority in India. But socially, they are far from insignificant; their intelligence, industry, and integrity have given them a position of much importance in Bombay.

A question arises in my mind about the demeanour of the Parsis in India. They left their homeland Para—the modern Iran when they could not stand the foreign invasions on their culture and religion. When they were settled in the Western coast of India they could not embrace Hinduism. Were they betraying India when they came here as refugees? Perhaps the question does not arise or on its arising it cannot be answered. Parsis were too good to betray us. They were too strong to give up their ancient traditions. Parsis were extremely rich when they came to India. They did not like to be called refugees. They were able to rehabilitate themselves with their own resources. Therefore they did not give up their culture and religion. They retained all their customs and religious tradition. They had their own way of life and they managed to sway and strife in all social directions.

In the book *Caste in India* its author Emile Senart says thus:

"The religious beliefs of India are scarcely ever presented in positive dogmas. In the vague outlines of an imperfectly defined pantheism oppostion and divergences rise for a moment only, then sink back into the shifting mass. Contradictions are quickly resolved in a conciliatory syncretism which weakens schisms, and all differences are cloaked by a convenient orthodoxy. Nowhere is there categoric doctrine, consistent and uncomprosising. On the social plane an analogous phenomenon appears in the caste-system. Everywhere is the same spectacle of plastic impotence. Whatever vigour it may have borrowed from external and historic circumstances, the caste is clearly the fruit of the Hindu mind. The social organisation of India is to the structure of the antique cities what a Hindu poem is to a Greek tragedy. In practical life as well as in art the Hindu genius rarely shows itself capable of organisation—that is to say, of measure and harmony. In the caste it has exhausted all its efforts in maintaining and strenghtning a network of closed groups,without common action or mutual reaction, recongnising in the long run no other motive-power than the unchecked authority of a sacerdotal class which has considered itself the people's sole director. Under the levelling rule of Brahminism the castes move as the episodes jostle one another haphazard in the vague unity of an epic narrative. It is enough that an artificial system theoretically masks their incoherence."

No doubt, the destinies of caste are an instructive chapter in the psychology of India, but I have to say that Emile Senart is surely betraying India quite knowingly and perhaps with an intention to degrade India in the eyes of the whole world. The real strength of India was based on body politic and not on power-politics. The whole country of India, during Aryan rule, was considered as one body with Brahmins as their spokesmen. The Kshatriyas were the only rulers in India. Their suzereignity was acknoledged by all the people. The Vaishyas were the unified trustees of public money and the Shudras were the servants of India. The human body is controlled by the brain. It is protected by the arms. It is fed by the stomach and it is sustained by the legs or feet. Similarly the Body of India was divided into four. The Brahmins were our heads; the Kshatriyas were our arms; the Vaishyas acted as the stomach of India. The Shudras performed all kinds of services by becoming the feet of our motherland.

Therefore Emile Senart seems to be incredulous. We cannot understand the Wastern mind when it comes to explain the genesis of the caste system in India. Either the Western scholars do not possess the proper imagination to explain this system or they intentionally mock at and betray the Indians by foolishly interpreting India's symbolicism.

Depending upon Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* Emile Senart observes thus:

"Concerning the genesis of the caste, the Hindus possess nothing but a few legends which signify very little. They bear a symbolic and superficial stamp. The most wide spread—the one with which we are already familiar—is that which derives the Brahmins from the mouth, the Kshatriyas from the arms, the Vaishyas from the thighs, and the shudras from the feet of the demiurge. Even where it is pressed into service, as in Manu, it is obviously an adjunct which disturbs the order of the cosmic theory. This is still clearer in the Ramayana, in which, finally, the castes appear to be derived from Manu, wife of Kasyapa, somewhat as in Iran the three classes are in turn derived either from Yima, the first King, or from Zarathustra, the great religious initiator.

"The variants in certain Brahmanas are nothing more than clever exercises, little etymological arrangements of no weight or importance. In the majority of the speculations on the origin of human beings, castes are left entirely out of account. The trains of reasoning which connect their appearance either with successive ages of the world or with the natural inclinations of mankind have neither more authority nor more stability than an adventitious fiction which reserves for each caste its own particuler heaven."

All these explanations are recent and academic. Like the whole of tradition, they are inspired by the system of four fundamental castes.

I have spoken in passing of those often violent coflicts which arise here, there and everywhere between neighbouring castes. They blaze up over some special privilege to which a caste cannot bear to see its right contested. They bear no comparison, either by nature or casual importance,with the class-struggles for domination which must have taken place between priests and nobles in the past.

"There can be no doubt that the delimitation of prerogatives and the balance of privileges between the sacerdotal and noble classes have never from the beginning really possessed the absolute precision ascribed to them by the dogmatic texts. We know how much variability of practice is concealed beneath the strictness of the rules. Whatever care the sacerdotal class may have taken to reserve for itself the privilege of ritual acts and sacred studies, this privilege suffered many exceptions, especially in the early period. The chiefs, admitted to receive religious teaching, must, in more than one case and in spite of opposing claims, have set themselves up in their turn as teachers. A number of Vedic songs are attributed to Kshatriyas, even to Vaishyas. If the hymns themselves so insistently exhort the chiefs to have near their person a professional priest (*purohita*), this is perhaps because they often dispensed with this duty. In severel cases the sons of nobles fulfilled this function. The sacerdotal litereature bears witness to the great learning of certain kings, who outdo even the Brahmins themselves. The books which exhibit the Brahmanic theory in its complete development provide also for the case, certainly exceptional, where a Brahmin may take as master a Kshatriya or a Vaishya."

Legend has also preserved for us the names of women of Brahmanic or royal race who possessed vast theological learning and oratorial, gifts.

There is even a case where the Brahmana, after extolling the knowledge possessed by a king (Janaka) or the Videha, seems by way of conclusion to declare that he had become a Brahmin. It is the legend of Vishvamitra, however, which furnishes the most famous example of a promotion of this kind. The Vedic hymns indicate a long rivalry between

Vishvamitra and Vashshtha; perhaps the favour of King Sudas and the office of private chaplain were at stake. The texts are obscure and their combination doubtful. Be that as it may, the primitive theme in the Epic has become embellished with copious variations; it tells in precise terms of a violent struggle which was waged between the two personages as to which of them should possess the miraculous cow, Surabhi, which grants all prayers. Extraordinary austerities are involved, and at the end Vishvamitra, who belonged by origin to the royal line of Kusikas, became a Brahmin.

It is an odd delusion to profess to use such tales as documents bearing on the history of caste. All that they can show is that in spite of the claims of the Brahmanic class a monopoly of religious life and activity has never really been exclusively theirs. The outstanding fact is that at the period when they took definite form Brahmanic ambition had received its final consecration in the system which is the law. To admit that a Kshatriya might not touch sacred things except by becoming a Brahmin was, in the eyes of Brahmins, another way of paying homage to their privilege. A rare exception, very dearly bought, confirmed the rule. It is impossible to see in it a proof that changes of caste have been officially recognized, still less that the legend is older than the caste-system. The utmost we may infer from it is that the rule entrusting the religious ministry solely to the Brahmanic castes, being foreign to the archaic constitution of the rites, which did not assume a privileged priesthood, suffered in remote autiquity still more exceptions than in later times which were further removed from the primitive family-priesthood.

It may be tempting, but it is unquestionably dangerous, to reconstruct history from legend. The process demands very delicate handling.

The stories either from the Epic or from the *Puranas*, recalling the harsh acts of certain kings towards the Brahmins and the punishments meted out to them in consequence, have been laboriously collected. We hear of Venu forbidding the priests to make sacrifices; of Pururavas depriving them of their jewels; of Nahusha causing his chariot to be drawn by a thousand Brahmins, and other tales. Scholars have seen in them the traces of the struggle for predominance between Brahmins and nobles.

The most suggestive is without doubt the story of Parasurama, the son of Jamadagni. To avenge the paternal wrong, Parasurama, holy but truculent, twenty-one times devastated the Kshatriya race. Such destruction did he wreak that all the warriors disappeared, and no other course lay open to the Brahmins, if they were to restore to the earth its tutelary masters and the indispensable equilibrium to the social organization, but to unite with the widows of the Kshatriyas to found together a new caste of nobles. The story undoubtedly betrays exceedingly strained relations between the two classes, at least in certain places and at certain times.

Parasurama's devastation of the Indian warriors shows the ancient rulers of India had betrayed the intellectuals who, therefore, had a reason to destroy the rulers who were betraying them.

A domination such as the Brahmins achieved, which they were obliged to strengthen with each century, is not set up unquestioned. The care that their books take, at all times, from the Vedic hymns onwards, to establish the dogma of their superiority in the strongest and most extravagant terms, shows clearly the persevering labour that has been necessary to ensure its success. Zimmer has correctly pointed out that a whole series of hymns of the *Atharvaveda* seems to reflect a period, or at least numerous examples, of conflicts between Brahmins and Kshatriyas.

This conflict of the intellectuals and rulers has led the Indians to betray their country. Their betrayal destroyed our country many a time.

The history of India has been definitely and properly recorded from the times of Gautam Buddha. This great prince of Kapilvastu was forced to give up his palace, power and princely activities. He had to leave his queen Yashodhara and his child Rahul. He ran away from his kingdom at night. I have recorded his biography in my book *Lehron-se-Poochiye.*

There must have been some intrigues and conspiracies against Gautum. They forced him to run away from his throne.

After all he must have been betrayed by some authorities in his state. It is quite immaterial whether he disclosed the betrayal to any person or not. It can be only a betrayal that forces a man to give up a princely life at the age of thirty one.

After the Buddha, the most important event in the history of India is Alexander's invasion of the Punjab. King Ambhik betrayed Porus.

When Alexander's army was not able to cross the Jhelum, some people betrayed Porus and showed the easy passage to the Greek soldiers who crossed the river at night and attacked the sleeping soldiers of Porus who was defeated.

During the Muslim period of Indian history, we repeatedly hear of the stories of betrayal which was caused by the intellectuals against the rulers whom they did not like. These intellectuals were either Brahmins or Buddhists. When Mahmood Ghazni invaded Somnath, the Brahmins spoke of their rulers "The Lord of our Temple alone will conquer the invader. Our rulers need not pick up the arms." This was a sheer betrayal. The foolish rulers believed the betraying Brahmins.

Later on we see Jai Chand's betrayal. Some Brahmins advised Mohammad Ghori to keep a herd of cows in front of his armies because Rajputs were not to attack the cows. The authorities of Lakshman Sen Pal betrayed him by allowing Mohammad Bin Bakhtiyar Khilji to enter Nadia, the capital of Bengal.

These topical stories of betrayal are very common in India. Razia Begum was betrayed by her own Ministers. Alauddin Khilji betrayed his uncle Jalaluddin Khilji. Mohammad Tughlaq betrayed his own father Ghiasuddin Khilji. Daulat Khan Lodhi betrayed the Lodhi rulers of India. Betrayal of Mughal Princes is well known to the historians. East

India Company founded the British Empire in India on the strength of betryal. Some British Viceroys of India and their great officers always betrayed India. Even the British Sanskritists did not fail to betray India. They always used their poison-pen against us.

Sherring's work *Tribes and Castes in Benares* may be referred. It is a curious thing that a preconceived notion should have been able to sterilize so much observation and learning. Sherring has shown us nothing except to tell us that the caste system is the outcome of political cunning of ambitious priests who, building from top to bottom, fashioned to their own ends, the constitution of the Hindu world.

Von Schroeder does not at first seem inclined to exaggerate the authority of the Brahmanic system; he feels that the quadruple division into priests, warriors, etc. can only correspond to a distinction of classes. Nevertheless, it is from them, and above all from the constitution peculiar to the Brahmans, that he derives the castes. Were we to believe him, the system would be linked with the victorious reaction of Brahmanism against expiring Buddhism, so that its formation would be advanced to the epoch when appeared the man in whom was personified this movement—hypothetical, in any case—that is, up to Sankara, the orthodox philosopher of the eighth century!

In *Indian Litterature and Culture* Zeitschr der Deutschen Morgenl Gesellsch Roth, has explained the early progress of the sacerdotal caste by a presumed importance gradually acquired by the *purohit* or family priest of the chiefs. He supposes that the Aryan people, when they spread over the plains of India, split up into numerous sections, minutely subdivided, that the royal families consequently lost both power and authority and descended to the rank of mere nobility; that the Kshatriyas became the small fry to the former kings; and that it was the weakness of the latter which built up the rule of the Brahmins. All the opinions of mind so subtle and well-informed are of value, but this theory really concerns only the history of classes, not the genesis of castes.

To confound the one with the other is to produce general confusion. I have given several reasons for this. The class and the caste correspond neither in extent, in character, nor in natural tendencies. Each one, even among the castes which would belong to one and the same class, is plainly distinguishable from its fellows: it isolates itself from them with a rigour which is not tempered by any regard for an underlying unity. The class subserves political ambition; the caste obeys narrow scruples, traditional customs, or, at most, certain local influences which have as a rule no relation to class-interests. Above all, the caste clings to the safeguarding of an integrity which is the subject of deep concern and sensitiveness even with the humblest. It is the distant echo of the class struggles, handed down by legend, with which tradition responds. By the reaction of principles on facts the two institutions may have become fused together; they are none the less essentially independent.

The hierarchic division of the world's population into classes is practically universal but the Indian caste-system is a unique phenomenon. Brahmanic ambition has taken advantage of it in order to establish its domination. A caste system is not the necessary basis of a theocracy. If theory has confused the two sets of ideas, this is a fact of secondary importance. In order to understand the historic development we must distinguish carefully between the two ideas; remembering, however, to investigate how they came to be finally combined.

In his book the *Caste System* Nesfield is obsessed by general ethnographic views. His faith in positivist classifications is uncompromising to a degree quite astonishing in an age which has largely renounced all dogmatism.

Occupation is, in his eyes, the foundation of the caste; it is the centre round which it has grown up. He admits no other origin; he deliberately excludes all influence of race and religion. In his eyes it is pure illusion to distinguish in India distinct currents of population, Aryan and aboriginal.

To use his own words:

"Each caste or group of castes represents one or other of those progressive stages of culture which have marked the industrial development of mankind, not only in India, but in every other country in the world. The rank of any caste as high or low, depends upon whether the industry represented by the caste belongs to an advanced or backward stage of culture; and thus the natural history of human industries affords the chief clue to the gradations as well as to the formation of Indian castes."

According to Nesfield's theory, the caste system springs from the regular evolution of social life, starting at its lowest level and following in its slow progression. How can he reconcile this with the relatively late date to which he refers the constitution of the castes? What likelihood is there that a thousand years before our era the Hindus were still barbarians, devoid of the most rudimentary elements of civilisation? Indeed, Nesfield affirms that "the Brahman was the first born of castes, the model upon which all the other castes were subsequently formed, extending gradually from king or warrior to the tribes practising hunting and fishing, whose rank is no higher than that of the savage." It is from the Brahmins, thanks to the contagion of example and the necessity for self-defence, that the exclusivism of all the castes emanated. The Brahmin is the founder of the system. He it is who has invented for his own benefit the rule which alone rendered their constitution complete, the rule prohibiting marriage with a woman of another caste; a curious contradiction of later passages where he derives the regulation of marriage from the traditional usages of the tribe.

It is not that he is duped by the dogmatism of the religious books. In his opinion "the old fourfold division was never actually in force in India except as a current tradition, the only reality which attaches to it to this day." Borrowed from the Indo-Iranian past, it has hardly any other value than that of connecting the diversity of the castes with functional differences. The Vaishyas and the Sudras in particular have never been anything except a kind of rubric intended to embrace a multitude of heterogeneous elements. But evidently, without overcoming the charm exercised on his mind by positivist constructions. Nesfield has clearly felt that for want of a corrective his theory proved too much, that it ought to be applicable to all countries.

His theory has taken such hold of his mind that he has naturally been led to present it to us as a deductive exposition rather and not as an inductive analysis. In attributing primary importance, on the one hand, to the occupation and on the other, to the organisation of the tribe, he has at least faithfully summed up the impression we gather from the works of most observers of contemporary Indian life.

Ibbeston's thesis, less complete, and, if I may venture to say so, less forced than that of Nesfield, is based on the same data. Endowed with a mind less systematic and more readily impressed by shades so changeable as to discourage generalizations, he is beset with reservations.

It is true that many castes worship the implements proper to their trade. Thus the fisherman sacrifices a goat to his new boat; the shepherd smears the tail and horns of his beasts with ochre; the ploughman pours an offering of sugar mixed with melted butter and a few grains of rice over his plough at the spot where it breaks up the first sod of earth; the artisan worships his tools: the warrior worships his weapons of war, the scribe pays homage to his pen and inkstand. Interesting as these customs are, they only go to prove that people of single caste, being engaged in a variety of occupations, may render this sort of respect to symbols of the most diverse kinds.

Many castes take their names from their dominant occupation; but this only refers to a generic denomination, the application of which does not at all necessarily correspond to the limits of the caste.

It may be that in certain cases a local professional title embraces a group wholly united in the single caste. This will be the exception. The bond of occupation is extremely frail, and its unity is broken by the slightest accident. It cerainly does not constitute the pivot of the caste.

As the outcome of speciality of occupation, it would be no more than a guild like those that flourished in the Middle Ages or in the Imperial Rome. Who could confuse the two institutions? The one is confined solely to artisans, enclosed within regular limits and confined in its action to the economic functions for which it was created by necessity or interest; the other permeates the whole social state, regulating the duties of all and governing private life down to its most intimate functions. There is nothing more simple and natural than that castes and guilds should meet at certain points, for both are corporations. No one denies that community of occupation has contributed to bring together or limit certain castes of workmen or artisans.

It is in race, and the enmities born of race, that Risley, here in direct contradiction to Nesfield, seeks the soul of caste. According to him, the existing hierarchy is the social consecration of the ethnological ladder from the Aryans, who have retained their purity in the highest castes down to the humblest aboriginals herded together in the lowest.

In his work *the Ethnographic Glossary* Risley bases his argument upon the early use of the word *varna** and the meaning generally attributed to it in the more modern classical language. He sees in the natural enmity between the conquering and conquered races, the white and the black, the germ of a distinction. The endogamous laws are the foundation of the system. He supposes that the Aryans, in face of a despised population, raised this rampart to protect the purity of blood on which they prided themselves. The caste is, for Nesfield, a matter of profession; for Risley, a matter of marriage. He believes that it is the analogy and imitation of this primitive grouping which, spreading step by step with the authority lent by the sanction of the governing classes multiplied an infinitum the ramifications which were derived according to circumstances from various causes or occasions, such as community of language, proximity or identity of occupation, beliefs or social conventions.

Risley arrives indirectly at a fairly general acceptance of the orthodox Brahmanic system: he supposes that the predominance gradually acquired by the priesthood was the principal source of the whole evolution. Despite its exaggerated simplification, the theory of mixed castes remains for him an invaluable proof of incessant cross-breeding; he regards the fluctuating intermixture of the populations as the main cause of the multiplication of groups.

If in its strictness the endogamous rule of the caste belongs properly to India, the exogamous rules, which work on parallel lines, are much more general. In unequal degrees and varying forms, exogamy is a universal law. Exogamous groups are met with under different names at the top and at the bottom of Hindu society: epenymous *gotras* among the Brahmins, clans united by the totem among the aboriginal peoples meet, strenghen one another, and sometimes merge together. The lower classes are always jealous to assimilate their old organisation to that Brahmanic legislation, the adoption of which confers on them a title of nobility.

The organisation of typical clans and guilds is so natural to the archaic period of human society that it is to be met with among most diverse races; If we think solely or even chiefly of the organisation of the aboriginal tribes of India, and if we admit that it has reacted with so decisive a force on the general constitution of the Hindu world that an ambitious class of priests has taken possession of it and made it a weapon of war, we shall reverse the probable current of history and attribute too great a power to the motive forces. Everything indicates that in the march of Indian civilization the determining influence belongs to the Aryan elements, the aboriginal elements having exerted no more than a modifying, partial, and secondary influence.

**Varna* means colour in Sanskrit.

We are not dazzled by convenient generalities as to lose sight of the necessary sequence of historical realities. This condition makes it unnecessary for me to enter fully into the speculations on castes which have arisen from recent researches on primitive juridical organization. Haern's book, *The Aryan Household* discovers abstract theories about the Aryan domain. Hearns has scarcely entered into the living reality of evolution. We ean occasionally profit by these abstract theories but we have had some concrete experience of the danger of their abstractness.

Caste exists only in India. It is therefore in the situation peculiar to India that we must seek its explanation. Without shutting our eyes to other sources of information, we must turn to the facts themselves and to the study of the characteristic elements of the system as they are revealed in the present and reconstructed in the past by the idea of close relationship.

By the idea of close relationship which permeates caste; by the jurisdiction which somewhat tyrannically regulates private life, marriage, food, ceremonial usages; by the habitual practice of certain special cults, and by its corporate organization, the caste-system does in fact recall the family-group such as we observe it in its various degrees in the family, in the gene, and in the tribe. Its original features are no less clearly defined. There is scarcely a single feature, however, which, if examined closely, will not reveal germs of this past, although the common elements may not elsewhere have developed either on the same lines or with the same degree of diffusion. Fundamentally, it is the same phenomenon of which India gives us so many other examples. In almost all matters which provoke comparison with cognate branches of the Aryan stock, we meet with the most exact resemblances hand in hand with profound differences. The relationship penetrates even to those elements which have evidently been shaped here in a new mould.

Amongst the rules which govern marriage in the castes, the exogamous laws which prohibit any union between people belonging to the same section, *gotras*, or clans, are remarkably strict. In all primitive societies they have exercised a wide dominion, which soon decreased wherever a more advanced political constitution flourished. In principal, these rules were certainly familiar to the Aryan race as well as to others.

Today we find that the question of the caste is again a burning topic of the day in Bihar, Western Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. Even the Brahmins in Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and Rajasthan are extremists in observing their systems of *gotras*. They are very strict about the Vedic ways of living. Although the rigidity of the caste system bas been removed, at the time of general elections, the political leaders do exploit the unit underyling this ancient system. The Harijans openly manifest this rigidity in many ways.

We must remember the religious role which from time immemorial the Aryans have assigned to the repast. Prepared on the sacred hearth, it is the external symbol of the family community, of its continuity in the past and in the present; and this aspect gives rise to the libations and, in India, to the daily offering to ancestors. Even where, owing to the decay inevitable in all institutions, the primitive significance may have weakened, it remains very much alive in *Sraddha*, the funeral feast (the perideipnon of the Greeks, the silicernium of the Romans) which on the occasion of the death of relations manifests the indissoluble unity of the line.

There are abundant proofs that the repast has kept a religious meaning for the Hindus. The Vedic Brahmin avoids eating at the same time or out of the same vessel not only with a stranger or an inferior, but even with his own wife and his yet uninitiated sons. This principle is laid down in the *Maanava Dharma Sastra*, IV, 43. It is mentioned in the A part. Dh, S.II, 4,9,7 and the note is given by Birhler. According to the *Vishnu Smriti* XXII, 8-10, it is forbidden to share the food even of the Brahmin, if, for some cause or another, although accidental and involuntary, he is suffering from a defilement. Even a shudra cannot without contamination eat the meal of a defiled dvija.

Impurity is contagious, and therefore excludes its victim from the religious function of the repast, and for this reason it is that by sitting down to a common banquet with his caste-companions an offender who has been temporarily excluded consecrates his rehabilitation. The Roman feasts of the Charistia, which gathered kinsmen together, excluded not merely all strangers but any relation whose conduct appeared to render him unworthy. The Persians had retained similar usages. The daily repasts of the prytanes had remained among the Greeks one of the official rites of the city religion, where, moreover, the composition of the meal was not a matter of indifference, the nature of the dishes and the kind of wine to be served being defined by rules which varied with the locality. In excluding various foods, India generalized the application of the principle.

It is a remarkable thing that the Hindus have preserved more faithfully than any one else the significance of the common meal, and have to all appearances extended the funeral feast, *Sraddha.* The banquet, according to theory, instead of bringing the relations together, is offered to Brahmins.

I have already dealt with the Sraddha ceremony elsewhere in this book. I must tell my readers that India's caste-system has a deep rooted effect on her politics.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi is also aware that caste system by itself is no panacea for complex national problems. The united Congress was nearly defeated at the Centre in 1967, and was actually decimated in 1977. On account of our caste system over the last one decade, social tensions have gradually built up and have now reached an explosive situation.

This is so particularly in the sprawling Hindu heartland. One aspect of this problem is revealed by the caste war raging fiercely in Bihar on job reservation, which threatens to envelop UP and other neighbour states in the North.

This is a problem that had been solved rather peacefully over the years in the South, especially in Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. Beginning with Kamaraj, political leadership in the South, as also in Maharashtra, had also passed into the hands of the so-called "backwards" even during Nehru's time. These people form a class which comes out of the caste system of India.

This process got going in the North only after the Janata victory in 1977, backed as it was by the backward classes among the peasantry. Because of its delayed and sudden start, the movement in the North is meeting with fierce resistance from the "forwards", which is vertically splitting almost all of us.

According to Mr. A Raghavan of *Blitz*, "There is no Left Party in the North that can take advantage of the snowballing social tensions and the inevitable realignments of political forces. So much so, that the great churning that is taking place cannot be used for a radical reorientation of Indian politics unless the Left parties come together, shedding their mutual allergies. Even if they come together, it will only be a small beginning, but it is bound to be a promising one."

A. Raghavan further observes in this context that the Resolution of the Political Situation, passed by the recent CPM plenum, though halting, is a welcome step. The central massage is the great Marxist disillusionment of the Janata Party and its Government. All these months, the Marxists had thought that the Morarji Government would be a safe buffer against the authoritarianism of Mrs. Gandhi. They had called for a Nuremberg style trial of Mrs. Gandhi and are now peeved to find that even the device of Special Courts has not taken off the ground. The Resolution has noted that "the gulf has further widened" between the promises of the Janata Party and the practices of its Government.

It has attacked the Janata leaders' line-up with the RSS, the ruling party's sellout in the nuclear field, the "clearest menifestation of its anti-working class policy," and tie up with big business, multinationals and the wholesale trade.

For the first time, there is no carping criticism of the CPI while calling for urgent steps to build a Left Democratic Front, including Congressmen, who are opposed to joining up with Mrs. Gandhi.

But the Resolution's central formulation is rather curious. After saying that the emergence of a viable Left and Democratic alternative "is the urgent need of the hour", the Resolution says that such a united Front should "roll back the anti-people policies" of the Janata Government and "frustrate" the efforts of the authoritarian forces "to stage a comeback."

5 *British Conquest of India*

It was in a very short time that the British Empire in India grew up. About two hundred years ago, it comprised only Bengal and Bihar in Eastern Hindustan, a small territory in Bombay, and a somewhat larger territory in Madras. Two Indian princes—the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and the Nawab of the Karnatak—were the protected allies of the English. Three others—the Nizam, Scindia, and Tippu—were their dreaded foes. Up to 1946 the whole country owned the sovereignty of the King Emperor, and five-eighths of it were under his Majesty's direct rule. It was remarked by De Toqueville that the conquest and government of India were really the achievements which give England her place in the opinion of the world. No doubt this was so. It was equally beyond doubt that British greatness in India was forced upon them. Indian Empire was acquired, not by the deliberate design, but against the will of the people of England. I shall proceed in this chapter to sketch in outline what Sir Henry Maine has called "that wonderful succession of events which has brought the youngest civilization in the world to instruct the world to instruct and correct the oldest, which has re-united those wings of the Indo-European race-separated in the infancy of time to work out their strangely different missions."

Thomas Stephens, the Jesuit, was the first Englishman known to have visited India in the sixteenth century. The date of his visit is 1578. His letters to his father, giving an account of it, stimulated the spirit of curiosity and adventure among the Britishers and four years afterwards, three English Merchants, whose names are worth remembering—Newberry, Fitch, and Leeds—made their way to the country overland. The Portuguese, who were already there, threw them into prison, first at Ormuzed, and then at Goa. Newberry, in the event, settled down as a shopkeeper at the last mentioned place, Leeds entered into the service of Akbar, and Fitch, after long wandering, found his way back to England. In 1600 the Governor and Company of Merchants of London started trading to the East Indies and were incorporated by Royal Charter with a capital of £70,000/-. They prospered exceedingly, their profits seldom falling below 100 per cent, and in 1612-13 their capital was raised to £400,000. Other rival companies were started from time to time, the most formidable being "The General Society trading to the East Indies" incorporated in 1698 with a capital of £ 2,000,000. In 1708 this 'English' Company was amalgamated with the original 'London' Company, under the style of 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. That is "The East India Company," which lasted till 1857.

It is unnecessary here to chronicle the conflict of English traders in India with Portuguese and Dutch during the seventeenth century. We may, however, note that the three great English cities of India then had their origin. Madras was founded in 1638, and was the first English territorial possession in that country. It was created an independent Presidency in 1653. The island of Bombay, which formed part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, came into British possession, in 1665. It was made the seat of the Western Presidency twenty years afterwards. The beginning of Calcutta must be referred to the year 1686. It was originally subordinate to Madras, and was not made an independent Presidency till 1716.

The eventual struggle for the conquest of India was not between the English and the Portuguese, or between the English and the Dutch, but between the English and the French. It took place in the eighteenth century. In 1674 the French founded their settlement of Pondicherry, some hundred miles lower than Madras on the Coromandal coast. And there for seventy years, they peaceably pursued their commercial operations, although differences with the Madras Government arose from time to time, and led to angry correspondence. But in 1743 war broke out between England and France. And in 1746 a French fleet, under La Bourdonnais, captured Madras. The English Governmet removed to Fort David, a similar settlement only twelve miles from Pondicherry. In 1748 a fleet arrived from England under Admiral Boscawen and Pondicherry was beseiged. It was then that Clive, a civilian who had obtained an ensign's commission, first won military distinction. The siege of Pondicherry was unsuccessful, and was raised in three months. Shortly afterwards, hostilities between France and England were brought to a close by the Peace of Aix-la- Chapelle, and Madras was restored to the British.

Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, nourished the dream of a French Empire in India; and during the next fourteen years he laboured with all his might to realise it. "Battles", he said. "confused my genius." But he was a consummate politician; and the story of his intrigues with the native poentates through whom he sought to compass his designs, would fill a vast volume. In the wars which they produced, the English and the French were ranged on different sides. At first, the plans of Dupleix, ably sounded by his half-native wife, were crowned with success. In the yearly part of 1751 the ascendency of France was established throughout Southern India. Suddenly the situation was changed by the dauntless courage and admirable strategy of Clive. His capture and defence of Arcot, in 1751, were the beginning of an unbroken series of English tripumphs, finally crowned by the victory of Eyre Coote at Wandiswash in 1760 over

Count Lally, General Bussy and the whole French army, and by the capture of Pondicherry in 1761. Dupleix, who had been recalled to France in 1754, died ten years afterwards, ruined and broken hearted. Count Lally was judicially murdered in 1766. And in 1768, the French East India Company ceased to exist.

Meanwhile Clive, promoted in 1755 to be the Governor of Fort St. David, had been called to Calcutta by the tragedy of the Block Hole "that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed." On 23rd June, 1757, the Battle of Plassy was fought and won. It is the date of the beginning of the Indian Empire of the British people. During the battle of Plassy India was betrayed most miserably. In 1758 Clive was appointed by the Court of Directors the first Governor of Bengal. His work during the next two years was the permanent establishment of British influence in the North Circars and at the Court of Hyderabad. In 1760 he returned to England and was raised to the Irish peerage. He remained at home for five years, living in great splendour upon his income of £ 40,000 a year—a very large one in that age—cultivating Parliamentary interest and defending himself against a Party among the Directors of the East India Company who were jealous of his greatness. During those five years, affairs in Bengal were grossly mismanaged by the officials who held power there. Lord Macaulay goes so far as to say "that their misgovernment was carried to a point such as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society. A succession of revolution: a disorgainsed administration: the natives pillaged, yet the Company not enriched: every fleet bringing back fortunate adventures who were able to purchase manors and to build stately dwellings, yet bringing back also alarming accounts of the financial prospects of the Government; war on the frontier, disaffection in the army; the national character disgraced by excesses resembling those of Verras and Pizaroo; such was the spectacle which dismayed those who were conversant with Indian affairs. The general cry was that Clive and Clive alone, could save the empire which he had founded". Clive responded to the cry, after assuring his position with the Directors of the East India Company, and in May 1765, once more reached Calcutta and assumed office as Governor. He remained in India only a year and a half. But during that short time he accomplished two great works. He reorganised the Company's service, prohibiting that private trade which had been the source of frightful oppression and corruption, and establishing a liberal scale of official salaries. And Clive procured from the Moghal Emperor the grant of the *Dewani* or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, which constituted the English the legal rulers of the country. He left India in 1767, for the last time, broken in health and a poor creature then when he had returned to it. These are "causes which embittered the remainder of his life and hurried him to an untimely grave". But whatever blots are found on his career, Lord Macaulay's verdict upon him is certainly well warranted.

"His name stands high in the roll of conquerors; but it is found in a better list; in the list of those who have done and suffered much for mankind".

To Lord Clive must be given the first place among the founders of the Indian Empire. The second belongs to one even greater Warren Hastings. It is from his appointment as Governor General in 1774—he was the first to fill that office—that we must date the foundation of the existing system of British Indian Government. His name, like Clive's, has become a household word among us on account of the brilliant essays written by Lord Macaulay. But certain it is that, in several important particulars, Macaulay was betrayed into injustice towards him by too implicit reliance upon traditions which have only more recently been discredited. It has been conclusively shown by the late Sir James Stephen that the charge of contriving the judicial murder, or something very like it, of Nund Kumar, is untenable. And John Strachey has given good reasons for thinking that the Rohilla war was by no means so flagitious an undertaking as it had for a century been believed to be. It is undeniable that whatever faults may stain Waren Hastings' long administration of the British Indian Government—it lasted from 1774 to 1785—his services to the State were of the highest order. And the verdict of posterity ratifies the verdict by which the House of Lords, after a seven years' trial, acquitted him of the charges urged by the majestic eloquence of Burke. Here again we may quote Lord Macaulay with full assent: "Those who look on his character without favour or malevolence, will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue, in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. We cannot with truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler. We cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the State, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune and never disturbed by either."

Warren Hasting's career in India had been rather a stormy one and he had many difficulties to surmount. These difficulties sometimes led him to do things that were, as Lyall points out, "bold, hard, and unjustifiable according to English standards". They naturally attracted attention and a good deal was said about them in British parliament. On an earlier inquiry, parliament had demanded his recall and he was saved only because the directors refused to move in the matter. The Court of Directors itself had censured his policy, when they had reversed his decision in the case of the Begums of Oudh and would have restored Chet Singh to Benares but for the fact that an attack had been made on the Governor-General himself in the city. The grand inquisition in his administration took the form of his impeachment. It was an intelligible affair. Undoubtedly under him there had been good deal of misgovernment in India. Foxes' India Bill and Pitt's India Act represented the English Nation's determination to see justice done to India. Warren Hasting's impeachment must be treated as belonging to the same series.

Warren Hastings resigned his office in February 1785. At this time, Burke asked for some papers connected with the Government of Hastings. He had interested himself in Hastings' Administration of British India and had come to the only conclusion which a man of his nature could arrive at. Intensely as he disliked Hastings' administration, he had come to the conclusion that an enquiry into Hastings' administration would not be supported in the House of Commons, but when he asked for papers, Major Scott, Hasting's agent in the House of Commons, spoke so defiantly that Hastings' fate was sealed. Now Burke represented a party which had been taking a lifelong interest in Indian administration. If Warren Hastings had spent twelve years as the supreme head of the Government in India, these people had been trying to cleanse the Augean stables of the Indian Government even for a longer period. Their interests in the Government of India had culminated in Foxe's India Bill which was defeated in the Lords only by the intervention of the king. Not only this, the defeat had been responsible for the downfall of the Whigs who could not be supposed to take only a superficial interest in that subject. Burke had been studying the question of Indian administration and this indiscretion of Major Scott gave him his chance. He decided that he would utilize the occasion for either purifying the Government of India, or if he failed in that, he would make an end of the Tory rule of the king's friends in the government of the country. As Morley points out, his intention was simply to secure an inquiry into the system of Government in India and in doing so, the personal disinterestedness of the ruler who had been the chief founder of the policy of corruption and oppression in India, was dust in the balance.

So Burke proceeded with his work. When he came to his resolution on Hastings' treatment of Chetsingh and of Begums of Oudh, Pitt felt he could no longer remain aloof. Hastings was not an official whom Pitt should have shielded on any account in order not to shake the prestige of the Government. Pitt had therefore no occasion to be influenced by an extraneous consideration. And therefore when he saw, as Dundas later on wrote, the strength of the charges and weakness of the defence on these charges he no longer hesitated; he had no intention of standing between the Whig party and their prey. His vote against Hastings' administration of these two charges sealed his fate and an impeachment was decided upon.

The trial began on February 13, 1788. Burke opened it for the prosecution in a powerful speech full of righteous indignation against a man in whom he typified all the misrule and oppression in India. He was supported by Fox and Sheridan and some of the ablest and most eloquent speakers of the day. Burke's peroration was so powerful that it had an immediate effect. Ladies in the galleries shrieked as he unfolded this tale of misery and woe. Warren Hastings describes the effect of the speech as being so strong on himself that for a moment he thought he was the greatest villain on earth.

The impeachment dragged on for seven years to end in verdict of not guilty on April 23, 1795. Burke and his colleagues have been falsely accused of lengthening the trial simply in order to ruin Warren Hastings. That is far from being the truth. As Mill points out, it were the vagaries of the House of Lords that were responsible for this inordinate length of time consumed in the trial. They would insist on fine and hard-drawn distinctions on the admissibility of certain portions of the evidence. Hastings himself tried to help in lengthening his misery by putting in a plea of his not being amenable to parliamentary jurisdiction.

The verdict of acquittal needs some explanation. The trial began in 1788 when feelings against the oppressive system of Government in India were so strong. When the verdiet was given in 1795, many changes had occurred in the composition of the House of Lords, and of the lords who acquitted him. Some had never heard Burki speak on the matter. Some felt, moreover, that the expenses of the trial, a huge sum of more than £ 70,000, and the long drawn out sufferings of Hastings for the last seven years had been as much of a punishment as he had deserved. But a stronger reason for the acquittal was the change of feelings consequent upon the break out of the French Revolution in France. The English House of Lords could not indulge in an expression of opinion impunging the conduct of a public servant doing his work under extremely trying conditions. Moreover the exaggerations of Burke and his colleagues had alienated some people from his cause. Hastings was acquitted—it was really a matter of surprise.

It is wrong to hold that the verdict of acquittal in favour of Hastings was in any sense a vote of censure on Burke or that it registered the failure of their attempt. Burke was not vindictive. The trial had served its purpose to a very large extent. What was really aimed at was the system of government and not the man who had represented it for over twelve years. The trial, notwithstanding the verdict, cleared off a cloud of misconception, exaggerations, and false rumours on both sides. It fixed a standard, as Lyall points it, which the English would insist upon maintaining in their Indian administration, notwithstanding all the differences in the customs and the traditions of the two countries. But the very fact that the House of Commons had dared to hold an inquiry and impeach the conduct of a high official in India was significant enough; it served as an example and a wholesome warning. But, above all, it was a 'conscience easing' process on the part of the English nation. The tales of woe and miseries had been reaching England for sometime past. They had lain heavily on the national conscience and the people had been smarting under the knowledge. As Macaulay pointed out in another connection, "it availed itself of an opportunity to strike at a scapegoat and though the victim escaped, national conscience had unburdened itself in the process of accusing him". Yet it left a lasting impression; it created an interest in the administration of India in Parliament, which was a safeguard against future maladministration in this country.

No doubt, India was betrayed by Hastings who had to atone for his betrayal during the seven years' period of his impeachment in Parliament.

Warren Hastings was succeeded as Governor General by Lord Cornwallis, whose first term of office lasted from 1786 to 1793, and who established on durable foundations the system of British administration which his predecessor had initiated. He is best known by his least successful achievement, the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. In 1790-92, he commanded in person the British army in the second Mysore War—the first had been waged under Warren Hastings in 1780-84—in which the Nizam of the Deccan and the Maharatta Confederacy cooperated as allies of the British. It resulted in the submission of the Mysore ruler, the redoubtable Tippu Sultan, who was deprived of half of his dominions and made to pay a fine of two million sterling. With the exception of the disastrous Permanent Settlement of Bengal, carried out under the stringent orders of the Court of Directors, Lord Cornwallis's administrative measures were wisely conceived and admirably executed. It has been observed by a well-informed writer: "The Cornwallis Code, whether for revenue, police, criminal and civil justice, or other functions, defined and set bounds to authority, created procedure, by a regular system of appeal against the mis-carriage of justice, and founded the civil service of India as it exists to this day."

Lord Mornington—created Marquis Wellesley in 1799—ruled India from 1798 to 1805: and unquestionably he was on of her greatest rulers. As Clive is regarded as the founder of the territorial system of the British Indian Empire, and Warren Hastings as the founder of its administrative system, similarly Lord Wellesley is considered as the founder of its political system. The friend and confident of Pitt, his policy was shaped by the impartial spirit of that great statesman. On arriving in India he found French influence dominant at the court of the principal Mohammedan prince, the Nizam, and the threat of Mahratta protestant Scindia, while the ruler of Mysore, Tippu Sultan had openly sought the aid of Napoleon Bonaparte, then in Egypt, against the English, and had declared himself 'a citizen of the French Republic'. Lord Wellesley resolved to crush this curious citizen of the French Republic, and having induced the Nizam to receive and pay for a British force, and to discard his French officers, he sent into Mysore two British armies, to whose assistance his brother Arthur Wallesley, the future Duke of Wellington, brought a considerable body of the Nizam's troops. Tippu perished at the seige of Seringapatam (1799), a youth who repersented the ancient Hindu dynasty was proclaimed Maharaja of Mysore, and Arthur Wellesley was entrusted with the settlement and administration of that country. Lord Wellesley's next great achievement was to break up the Mahratta Confederacy in Southern India which aimed at, and very nearly achieved, supreme power there. It was Arthur Wellesley who gave the death blow to it at the battle of Assaye (1803). There is no exaggeration in saying that he was the saviour of

British Rule in India. The course he pursued in that famous fight was daring in the extreme. But it was the truest wisdom, a retreat would almost certainly have been fatal to him. The battle of Assaye is second in importance only to the battle of Plassy. It was followed, as a natural consequence, by the paralysis of French influence and French intrigue. It was supplemented by Lord Lake's great victories of Delhi and Laswari. And consequently England became indisputably the dominant power in the East. Here we may note that the Duke of Wellington gave to British rule in India not only military strength, but moral force also. He did much to raise the tone of official life there, and to purify the public service. To corruption, in all its forms and disguises, he was the unflinching foe. And the prudence of his policy towards the native chiefs is as remarkable as his military skill.

Lord Wellesley left India in August 1805. He had found the Moghul Empire in complete dissolution. He had raised the British Empire by betraying the foolish actions of the Mughals. How? Let me explain Wellesley's policy towards the crumbling Mughals. He had acquired the greater part of the territory in south eastern India. And in south-western India he had reduced the Mahratta ruler, the Peshwa, to vessalage, thus preparing the way for the destruction of that Prince's power in the fourth Mahratta war (1818) when the dominions of the vanquished potentate were annexed by Lord Hastings.

It was in 1813 that the Marquis of Hastings—he was then Lord Moira—came to India as Governor General. After the departure of Lord Wellesley, Lord Cornwallis was again nominated to the office, but he died within a few months of his arrival. Next Sir George Barlow officiated it for two years, when he was sent to the subordinate Government of Madras, upon the appointment of Lord Minto, whose rule of six years (1807-13) was marked by no incident which need be mentioned in this brief sketch. The most important event of the Marquis of Hastings' long Governor-Generalship (1814-1823) was the fourth and last Mahratta war which has been already mentioned. But his reign was also memorable for the Nepal war (1814-15) in which General Ochterlony achieved the brilliant march to Kathmandu, and dictated there the peace which assured to the British Indian Empire the hill stations of Naini Tal, Mussurie, and Simla, and for the suppression (1815) of the Pindari bands of marauders who desolated Central India. Then came Lord Amherst (1823-28) and the first war with Burmah, which resulted in the cessasion of a portion of that conntry to the British Indian Empire.

The next Governor-General was Lord William Bentinck, who, twenty years before had been Governor of Madras. "The benevolent Bentinck" who, to quote Macaulay's inscription on his statue at Calcutta, "never forgot that the end of government is the welfare of the governed: who abolished cruel rites; who effaced humiliating distinctions: who allowed liberty to the expression of public opinion: whose constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nation committed to his charge:" His reign lasted from 1838 to 1835. And it was in 1833 that Macaulay was appointed legal member of his council, being the first to hold that office. Lord Macaulay should be considered the enemy of Indian culture as it was he who forced English language and literature on the Indian youth. Wilson-Macaulay controversy is the most famous issue that arose during the reign of Lord William Bentinck.

Lord Auckland's Governor-Generalship which lasted from 1836 to 1842 was made memorable by our intervention for the first time in the affairs of Afghanistan. For two years the country was occupied by British troops. Then came the murder of Sir William Macnaghten, the Political Officer, and the destruction of our army in its attempt to make its way back to India through the passes. In 1842 Lord Ellengborough succeeded Lord Auckland as Governor-General, and two British armies, under Generals Pollock and Nott respectively, made their way to Kabul, which they sacked, blowing up the great bazaar with gunpowder. In 1843, Lord Ellenborough annexed Sind. In 1844 he was recalled, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge, subsequently advanced to the peerage as Lord Hardinge.

Lord Hardinge held office as Governor-General for four years. The chief event of his reign was the main cause of the defeat of the Sikhs at Sahraon. It was Rani Jindan who betrayed the Sikh army by sending spurious ammunition for the Sikh gunners. About the beginning of the nineteenth century Runjeet Singh established himself as their personal ruler, making Lahore his capital, and extending his conquests south to Multan, west to Peshawar, and north to Kashmir. Up to his death in 1839, he was faithful to an alliance into which he had enered with the British. But when he had passed away, troubles arose, issuing in the invasion in 1845 of British territories by a Sikh army of 60,000 men with 150 guns. They were opposed by Sir Hugh Gough, afterwards raised to the peerage as Lore Gough, who in three weeks fought four pitched battles against them, at the last of which, Sohraon, they were decisively overthrown. Peace was then concluded. Daleep Singh, the infant son of Ranjeet being annexed by the British, and the Rajput, Golab Singh, a Sikh general being constituted Maharajah of Kashmir for a payment of a million in hard cash towards the expenses of war, one of the most disgraceful transactions that stain our rule in India. In 1848 Lord Dalhousie became the Governor General of India at the comparatively early age of thirty-six. He held the office for eight memorable years, leaving the impress of his vast energy, iron will and intense devotion to duty, upon every branch of the administration. The second Sikh war broke out before he had been in the country six months. It ended within a year in the decisive victory of Gujarat. Lord Dalhousie determined upon the annexation of the whole of the Punjab. The country soon became tranquil, and steadily advanced in prosprity. The Sikhs were among the most loyal and contented subjects of the British Crown. Daleep Singh received for his relinquishment of the soverignty a grant of £58,000 a year, and lived as an English gentleman upon an estate in Norfolk. In

1852 the Second War with Burma broke out. It resulted in the annexation of a further portion of that country. In 1856 the kingdom of Oudh, long a prey to anarchy and oppression, was annexed, the ex-king being allowed a pension of £ 120,000 a year, upon which he settled down in a suburb of Calcutta. Futher accretions of territory took place during Lord Dalhousie's reign by the lapse to the British Government of the states of Sattara, Jhansi, and Nagpur, upon the death of their respective Rajahs without male heirs. But lord Dalhousie's long term of office was distinguished not merely by the extension of British territory but also by his indefatigable exertions to promote the moral and material well-being of the people over whom he ruled. He was the real founder of the Indian universities. He set on foot vast and most beneficient schemes of public works. Under him the railway system of India was begun. He introduced into the country the half-anna post. The admirably successful system of administration in the Punjab and in Burma was initiated by him. He went home to die—his constitution, never strong, quite broken down by his labours and anxieties.

Lord Dalhousie's friend, Lord Canning, the illustrious son of the illustrious George Canning, was the next Governor-General. In little more than a year from his assumption of office the first struggle for India's Independence started. It would almost seem as if some presage of a great calamity must have arisen in his mind when, on the eve of his departure from England, he said, at a farewell banquet given by the Court of Directors: "I wish for a peaceful term of office: but I cannot forget that in our Indian Empire that greatest of all blessings depends upon a greater variety of chances and a more precarious tenure, than in any other quarter of the globe. We must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand; but growing bigger and bigger, may at last threaten to overwhelm us with ruin." It would be difficult to depict more accurately than in these prophetic words the course of the India's struggle for independence. The affair of the greased cartridges, which seemed to the official mind a mere bagatella, was, as a matter of fact, the occasion of a commotion which shook the British Raj to its foundations. In May 1857 the sepoys at Meerut rose on their officers, and began the work of massacre. It was not until the middle of the year 1858 that Sir Hugh Rose, afterwards Lord Strathnairn, finally suppressed the insurrection in Central India. There is no need to touch here even upon the outlines of the tragedy which filled that space of time. The massacre at Cawnpore, the seige and storming of Delhi, the defence and relief of Lucknow, the heroic deeds associated with the names of Havelock, Lawrence, Outram, and Colin Campbell are fresh in all momories. But it is well to turn the mind's eye to Lord Canning, unmoved throughout that season of stress and storm; realising the ideal of the "just man, firm of purpose", depicted by the Roman poet, declining to swerve one hair's breath from the course of justice in obedience to the "rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness" which, as he wrote to the Queen in September 1857, was "abroad, even among those who ought to set a better example. "As long as I have breath in my body," he protested to Lord Granville, a short time afterwards, "I will pursue no other policy than that I have been following: justice, and that as stern and inflexible as law and might can make it, I will deal out: but I will never allow any angry or undiscriminating act or word to proceed from the Government of India as long as I am responsible for it."

The suppression of India's first struggle for freedom was followed by the extinction of the East India Company as a ruling body. In 1858 an Act for the better government of India transferred the administration of that country to the Crown, acting through a Principal Secretary of State. Shortly after the passing of this measure, a great Durbar was held at Allahabad, at which Lord Canning-who had now become Viceroy—published to Royal Proclamation, announcing that the Queen had assumed the Government of India and declaring the policy of justice and religious toleration which would be pursued by herself and her successors.

In May 1862 Lord Canning went home in a moribund state, and was succeeded by Lord Elgin, who died in November of the following year. Then came the five year's Viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence—afterwards raised to the peerage—whose wise and firm administration had saved the Panjab during the Mutiny. The next Viceroy was Lord Mayo, whose short term of office–he was cut off by the hand of an assassin in 1872—was marked by a great development of public works. His successor, Lord Northbrook, held the Viceroyalty for four years, and was followed in 1876 by Lord Lytton, who in 1877 held a great Durbar at Delhi, when the Queen was proclaimed Empres of India, and who in 1880 made way for the Marquis of Ripon. The first year of the new Viceroy's rule was marked by the conclusion of the war with Afghanistan, occasioned by the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari. The remaining three were years of peace, devoted chiefly to legislative measures. Of these measures the most notable was the so-called Ilbert Bill, which proposed to extend the jurisdiction of the rural criminal courts over European British subjects, irrespective of the race or nationality of the presiding magistrate. This project was vehemently opposed, not only in India but also in England, and was ultimately amended by its restriction to the court of District Magistrates and Sessions Judges.

Whatever view we may take of some portions of Lord Ripon's policy, there can be no question as to his high character, rectitude of purpose, and unswerving loyalty to his sense of duty. Few English rulers have so largely won the confidence and affection of the native population. When he retired in 1884, he was succeeded by the Marquis of Dufferin, who in the next year was driven by the hostile attitude of the Burmese king to annex the country over which that monarch ruled: thereby completing the conquest of Burma by the British rulers.

6 *Indians Enslaved Abroad*

We are taking up a most wonderful book for review. It has been written by Shri Nageshwer Anandat Maharaj who has titled it as "*Internaiional Conspiracy Against India*". In this books Mr. Nageshwer gives us an Introduction of Indian immigration. The facts given by him show that India was betrayed by its British rulers by making the Indian slaves when slavery had been abolised by them.

After the British Parliament abolished slavery in August, 1838 the sudden cessation of slave labour led to an acute industrial depression that threatened with ruin the colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana and Trinidad. Many estates which were prosperous and productive, were gradually facing bankruptcy and were cultivated for two or three years at considerable loss. Several estates, for want of the necessary labour, were abandoned. At one time it seemed probable that sugar cultivation in these territories would be altogether given up.

In 1835 the Chinese arrived here under a regular Government system. This also was a failure, and for ten years no further immigration took place. Immigrants arrived also from Havre, Malta and America.

In 1844, the planters felt in its full force the severity of the labour pressure. The sugar industry was crippled. "Perhaps in no island", writes W.G. Sewell, "was impending ruin consequent upon emancipation so glaring, so palpable, so apparently certain as in Trinidad after the liberation of the slaves."

The abolition of slavery in the British Colonies gave the first great impetus to the movement which has come to be known as the system of Indian Indentured Labour. In 1814, Sir Ralph Woodford, Governor of Trinidad, had suggested a plan for Indian immigration in Trinidad. A plan was subsequently prepared which envisaged a scheme for Indian immigration.

Immigration from India began in 1834 with Mauritius being the first of the British colonies to import Indian labour and about seven thousand immigrants left Calcutta for that colony between 1834 and 1837. From the very beginning this system was bitterly assailed in the British Parliament as an abominable traffic. In May 1835, Lord Brougham described an Order-in Council for the introduction of immigrants to British Guiana as the establishment of what would become a slave trade. Prior to that, in 1837, Mr. Powell Buxton had asked Sir J.C. Hobhouse whether "the natives of India, who were imported into Mauritius and the West Indian colonies, were in any degree regarded as slaves."

Here below we are citing the first chapter of Nagashwar's book Which deserves to be read in full. While exposing a great conspiracy against India Nageshwar writes thus:

Because of constant agitation emmigration was suspended and a Committee of Enquiry was appointed in Calcutta to enquire into the whole matter. Their report which was submitted in 1840 showed that the system of recruitment led to abuses and that the emigrants were being entrapped by force or fraud, robbed of their wages and treated with brutality. Following this report emigrarion was prohibited in 1842, except to Mauritius. In 1844, after a long correspondence, emigration to Trinidad, Jamaica and British Guiana was permitted.

The procedures for recruitment were as follows;

The Colonial Government appointed persons of approved character to conduct emigration on their behalf from its presidency towns of India. These agents employ recruiters of whose respectability they are required to convince the Government Protector of Immigrants. These recruiters persuade persons to emigrate and take them before Magistrates who register the engagement. The recruits are then conveyed to Calcutta, Madras or Bombay where they were housed under the immediate eye of the emigration agent in depots which have been licensed as fit places for the collection of immigrants by the Protector. They are thence shipped on board vessels which are also licensed, care being taken that they are equipped in every respect with what is needed to ensure the safety of the passengers of their long voyage, and there the direct concern of the Government with the transaction ends. In actual practice these conditions were not adhered to.

The system of recruitment in India constituted perhaps one of the ugliest features of the indenture system. The recruiting agent was generally a person of disrepute and not of respectability. A bounty was given to him for every immigrant procured. This led to the worst forms of abuses.

Mr. J.A. Brown, a leading official of the Indian Government, giving evidence before the Sanderson Commission of 1910, stated; "My impression is that the recruiters are the worst kind of men. They are generally very low-class men. As far as I understand, they are paid by the number of immigrants that they get. The consequence is that they very often try to entice married women away from their husbands and try to get anybody they can." Mr. Brown added that he had several cases like that before him.

In 1848 the Government of India suspended emigration to the West Indies owing to the excessive mortality on the long sea journey and during the period of acclimatisation. In those days the vessels were small and badly ventilated. Some of the ship captains engaged in the traffic were from brutality or apathy of character, utterly unfitted for the charge of emigrants. There were frequent outbreaks of cholera and small-pox on board the ships. The voyage was long and tedious. It generally took five months through different latitudes. In the language of Lord Brougham, the "mortality and massacre of the voyage far exceeded the African Middle passage itself".

The first emigrant ship, the *Fatel Rozack*, left Calcutta in 1844 and arrived in Trinidad on 30th May, 1845 with 225 immigrants on board, comprising men, women and children. From 1845 onwards there was a continuous flow of emigrants from Calcutta to Trinidad. The largest number of emigrants that sailed from India was in 1858 immediately after the Indian mutiny and it has been conjectured that the great unemployment situation existing in India after the mutiny, and the destruction of the sources of livelihood and other barbarous acts perpetrated by the East India Company in India was mainly responsible for this exodus as millions of peasants were made destitutes overnight.

Immigrant workers came from Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Oudh, the Northwest Provinces, Bombay, Madras, the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. Among them were Hindus and Muslims of almost every caste and occupation.

The terms and conditions under which Indian immigrants came to Trinidad and Guyana were embodied in an Emigration Ordinance, the main provisions of which were as follows:

On Indenture the immigrant immediately comes under the protection of the Protector of Immigrants whose powers are extensive and are fully set out in the Immigration Ordinance. He may at any time visit estates, inspect conditions and treatment of immigrants, their dwellings and hospital accommodation, enquire into complaints of all kinds, get information against employers or any other persons. At all hearings before the Magistrate he may act on behalf of the immigrants as if he were the principal in the matter and report to the Governor. The Protector is responsible for the proper carrying out of the provisions of all immigration laws and may deal with employers generally in respect of any breaches of the provisions of the Ordinances then in force.

These safeguards worked well on paper, but in actual practice they were all violated and subjected to the whims of the planters who, with the connivance of the British authorities, interpreted them in their favour due to the illiteracy of the workers, and not having representatives of their own race and liking to protect their rights.

The indenture period was for 5 years. The wages were 6 pence per day and the immigrant was suppossed to work six days per week and nine hours per day. Until about 1945, a working day consisted of 12 hours. For just any reason the wages of an immigrant were withheld and in many cases an immigrant was fined and part of his earnings forfeited for any unavoidable accident that occured while performing his duties. The very minimum of health and hospital facilities were offered in cases of personal injuries or illness and compensation was not adequately provided.

If an immigrant did not show up for work one day, a policeman was sent to look for him, and if no proper excuses were offered by such an immigrant, he was liable for a fine of one pound or 14 days' imprisonment for the first offence and two pounds or one month's imprisonment for subsequent offenses. Absence from work without a lawful excuse or refusing to finish a particular work was punishable by a fine of two pounds or one month's imprisonment. An immigrant who was found drunk at work, or who did not perform his work to the complete satisfaction of his superiors, or who used language not accepted by his superiors, was liable to a penalty of one pound or 14 days' imprisonment, and this might be increased to five pounds or two months' imprisonment. This penalty also applied to unavoidable and unintentional damage to the property of the planters. The immigrants were not allowed to keep shops or own any other form of business or indulge in commerce of any sort.

Every immigrant was bound to reside on the plantation whereon he was under indenture and when found beyond the limits thereof was stopped, unless provided with a pass, and taken to the nearest police station to be detained until an enquiry was made by a Magistrate, who might punish him by imprisonment for seven days, if the charge of deserter was applied to him. In most cases the maximum penalty was inflicted on the immigrant due to race prejudice and his ignorance of the law.

An immigrant who did not show up for work for three full days was deemed a deserter and a fine of five pounds was levied against him or two months' imprisonment. Leave of absence was granted according to the number of days worked by the immigrant, one day for every 10 days over a two-week period (without pay), not exceeding 7 days at any one time, or 26 in any one year (this also depended on the whims of the planter).

In all cases of desertion, the employer is bound, under penalties, to prefer a charge against the deserter within 15 days after desertion, and any person knowingly employing or inducing an indentured immigrant to desert was liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty pounds, and to damages at the rate of four shillings per day payable to the employer entitled to the services of such immigrant. (Note: 4 shillings, or the equivalent of 8 days' wages for every day of absence from work).

The so-called dwellings were one-room barrack-type houses with no toilet facilities or pipe-borne water. The latrines were improvised near to the barracks which presented a dangerous health hazard to the occupants. The one-room barracks housed entire families in which they would all sleep, cook, eat, etc. The rooms were not only ill-equipped, but were also over-crowded in the majority of cases. Hospitals and medical facilities being negligible, many an immigrant had to present himself to work even when sick.

Every immigrant had to obtain or become entiled to a certificate of exemption from labour, and only then was he eligible to hold a passport or to quit the Colony. No immigrant was, under penalty of five pounds, to quit or attempt to quit the Colony without such passport. No such passports were granted to any immigrant unless he had resided in the Colony for five years at least or unless he paid to the Protector a sum equal to the cost of his introduction. Shipmasters or other persons aiding or counselling the departure of an immigrant from the Colony without a passport were liable to a fine of twenty pounds.

Although the Indenture Ordinance called for the establishment of schools, such safeguards were only provided for on paper. In actual fact, it was not until 25 years after their introduction that the immigrant's children were admitted to schools. The "trade and crafts schools" were never established even up to this day as called for in the Ordinance.

Twenty years after their first arrival, and with a population of more than 20,000 or 25 per cent of the total population, it can be said on satisfactory documentary evidences that not more than 20 children were to be found in the public schools of the island. The position in the year 1868 was such that Dr. John Morton, a pioneer missionary from Canada could say: "owing to race prejudice, there was scarcely an Indian child to be found in school in the whole island."

Government adopted an indifferent attitude towards the education of Indian children in view of the fact that the estates opposed education for them claiming that if these were to be educated, then they would be forced to adopt other means of obtaining docile and cheap labour in the near future.

Impetus for Indian education began with the arrival in the Colony of Dr. John Morton, who was sent there by his Mission Board in Canada for the specific purpose of doing evangelical work among the Indian people. The fact that he began by stressing the need for organised education enabled his mission to become a success. Today, the Canadian Mission is most favourably known because of its contribution to the educational progress of the Colony. This work, until recently, had been directed almost exclusively towards the Indian population.

The arrival in 1870 of a second missionary from Canada, Dr. K.J. Grant, later to be more closely identified with secondary education, enabled the educational work among Indians to be expanded further.

After serving their identureship for five years, the immigrants pressed for their return passage to india *en masse* while the planters were extremely reluctant in acceding to this demand. As an inducement to stay on, they were granted an allotment of land not exceeding half an acre for a cottage and garden in lieu of the return passage. They were allowed to send for their wives and children from India. Thus, the immigrants began forming their family and community life on a more or less permament basis, while others decidedly opted for their return passage to India.

In practice, the Immigration Laws were not always framed and administered in the best interests of the Indian labouring class. In 1878 the terms on which immigrants were engaged for Trinidad were altered. The alterations concerned the duration of work, period of indenture classification of emigrants, wages, rations and return passages. None of these changes were in favour of the immigrants.

The employers instituted frequent and unnecessary prosecutions under the Immigration Ordinances. A Labour Committee appointed in 1905 by the Governor found that "during the past seven years there were 1,140 prosecutions for absence without leave, desertion, habitual idleness, malingering and vagrancy, or nearly 1,600 per annum, equivalent to 15 per cent of the whole body of indentured immigrant".

The Sanderson Commission reported that "there is however, one matter in which we consider the treatment of the indentured immigrants is not wholly satisfactory and that is the extent to which employers have recourse to the criminal courts to enforce their statutory rights against their indentured labourers".

On this question the Indian Commissioners of 1915 wrote: "It was also pointed out to us that certain sections of the ordinance provided unduly severe penalties, others were too restrictive and that Magistrates sometimes awarded excessive punishment . . . our enquiries satisfied us that the trouble was not in the prosecution and conviction of the innocent but in the over-readiness to prosecute technically guilty persons and in the discretionary power of punishment conferred on Magistrates . . . the relations between employers and labourers would be generally satisfactory but for the number of prosecutions."

The aim of the planters who had suffered so severely from the entire discontinuance of slave labour was too often to acquire complete control over the labour market by means of regulations and administrative measures which aimed at compelling the immigrant to reengage himself on the expiry of his indenture rather than encouraging free settlers. The consequence of this feeling was that the laws relating to Indian immigrants introduced into several Colonies including Trinidad and Guyana gradually assumed a complexion less and less favourable to freedom and they were framed and administered in a spirit of substantial injustic to Indian immigrants.

"It is only to be expected", wrote Dr. Lankasundaram, "that as a sequel to the attitude of benevolent neutrality of our Government of the last century the history of Indian emigration was replete with numerous examples which bear testimony to the misery and privation of the ignorant and timid emigrants who had never possessed any bargained capacity.

"Labour conditions on the estates were generally severe. Unsatisfactory housing and sanitary arrangements led to an enormous amount of suffering and diminished effectiveness. Child labour was the order of the day. The immigrent worker was regarded as a tool in the cause of maximum profits. His standard of living was deplorably low. This condtion of affairs was responsible for much bitterness and discontent among the immigrants." In consequence labour disturbances occurred in 1872, 1883, 1898, 1900, 1903, 1907, 1912, 1923, 1924, 1939 and 1948 in Trinidad and Guyana.

With regard to these incidents the authorities viewed with the greatest suspicion the influence of the Brahmins. In his annual report for 1909 the Protector of Immigrants stated: "I certainly think it would be for the benefit of the Colony that no returns nor any sort of 'Brahmins' are recruited as my experience is that they invariably give trouble and incite others to do the same."

Though depressed and exploited, Indian labour remained at all times highly efficient and indispensable. The planters protested against Government using estate labourers to build railways and carrying out of large public works. In 1878 an attempt was made to enlist Indian immigrants for Cuba. Upon representations to the Colonial Office, forty labourers were sent back from Cuba by the British Consul and a law was passed against foreign enlistment. As late as 1909 the Trinidad Chamber of Commerce and the Agricultural Society passed resolutions expressing the conviction that the continuance of Indian immigration is essential to the properity of the Colony.

As the sugar industry flourished on cheap, docile and efficient labour, the demand for Indian immigrant labour had grown faster than the supply. Acting under pressure from the West Indian sugar planters, the Marguis of Salisbury Secretary of State for India, in March 1875 apdressed to the Government of India a dispatch in which he proposed the main outlines of a vast imperial scheme under which the Indian Government should adopt a more active policy in promoting emigration to the Colonies.

"While from an Indian point of view", wrote His Lordship, "emigration properly regulated and accompained by sufficient assurance of profitable employment and fair treatment seems a thing to be encouraged on grounds of humanity with a view to promote the well-being of the poorer classes, we may also consider from an imperial point of view the great advantage which must result from populating the warmer British possessions which are rich in natural resources and only want population by an intelligent and industrious race to whom the climate of these countries is well suited and to whom the culture of the staples suited to the soil and the modes of labour and setttement are adapted. In this view also it seems proper to encourage emigration from India to colonies well fitted for an Indian population.

The Indian Government strongly objected to Lord Salisbury's plan. They had received repeated complaints regarding the treatment and conditions of Indian labourers in the colonies. In the opinion of the Government, after a careful study of the past history of Indian emigration and of the probable effect on the native mind, a direct intervention on the part of Government to encourage its subjects to migrate would clearly be a departure from the permissive attitude which had hitherto been observed and would have been extremly impolite.

It cannot be denied that the inadequate social and economic standards of the Indian immigrants retarded their educational and cultural advancement "as almost the entire East Indian population of the Colony owed their presence there to the Indenture system, the whole object of which, during the eighty years of its existence, was the introdution of a docile labour force for work on the sugar estates. It will be readily appreciated that the community has at no period of sojourn in in the Colony enjoyed the cultural and economic advantages to which it could have looked, had it represented a cross-section of Indian society in the motherland. . . It is not suprising, therefore, that derived mainly from humble stock and bound for the most part to agricultural pursuits which the other elements of the population eschew, the East Indian communities lagged in many of those aspects of life which are covered by the phrase 'material and moral progress'. Thus, even as late as the census of 1931, their average of 'literacy' was low as compared with the general average of the population."

Indian immigration saved the Colonies from serious economic crises and brought continued advantages and lasting benefits. The trade balance was shifted from one of deficit to that of a surplus. When immigration from India was introduced in 1850 the trade balance stood at $476,000 for imports and $319,394 for exports; in 1870 there was a positive shift from this deficit trading pattern to $1,042,698 for imports and $1,227,574 for exports; and in 1907-8 imports stood at $3,374,824 and exports at $3,907,503.

In February 1909 the Acting Governor in a communication to the Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote: "The Indian peasant proprietor is becoming a large factor in the prosperity of the island and the returns which I enclose of the grants of Crown Lands issued to Indian immigrants during the last five years will show to what extent the Colony is benefiting permanently by this system of immigration.

The Trinidad Labour Committee of 1905 also wrote: "It will be generally admitted that the immigrants are industrious and useful citizens and that the remarkable agricultural development which has taken place would have been impossible without their assistance".

Perhaps the most striking and authoritative tribute to Indian immigration is contained in the report of the Commission on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates which was appointed in 1909 under the Chairmanship of Lord Sanderson. Following upon a most impartial and exhaustive enquiry into the general question of immigration the Sanderson Commission arrived at the following conclusion:

It seems to be an undeniable fact that in tropical climates where there is an abundance of fertile land open to the use of that population for the satisfaction of their needs, it is impossible to obtain from local sources, except by compulsion, a sufficient supply of labour for the development of industries dependent on steady and continuous work. Wherever these climatic and economic conditions prevail recourse must be had for the prosection of such industries, to the introduction of some alien race whose previous tradition and methods of life have inculated habits of steady and regular work.

"There can be no doubt that in this manner Indian indentured immigration has rendered invaluable service to those of our colonies in which, on the emancipation of the Negro slaves, the sugar industry was threatened with ruin or in which a supply of steady labour has been required for the development of the colony by methods of work to which the native population is AVERSE. The Indian Immigration has had a two-fold effect. It has admittedly supplied labour which could not be obtained in sufficient quantities from other sources. But we were also told by some competent witnesses that according to their observation in British Guiana and the West Indies at all events the the thrifty and persevering habits of the Indian immigrant have had an educative effect perceptible, though gradual, on those among whom he has come to live, and that his example and his competition have introduced new habits of industry and improved methods of agriculture.

"It is moreover generally admitted that the majority of the Indians who remained in the Colony after the expiration of their indenture, either as small proprietors or as free labourers, proved a valuable addition to the population and that in the second and third generations many inhabitants of Indian extraction became men of considerable property and attainments. Those who turned to other forms of employment, whether with greater or less success, are also recognized as useful in supplying various needs and rendering services to which the other elements of the population are more or less averse.

"No instance has been brought to our notice where the competition of immigrants in the labour market has been proved to have had the result of reducing the wagas of the older colonists or native population. But on the other hand, they are the means of providing for those classes opportunities or congenial empolyment which they would not otherwise have enjoyed. For this and other reasons, the development of the resources of a country is generally assured to be a benefit to the community at large and to be within certain restrictions, a proper object for expenditure from the public revenue."

In spite of these admissions from official sources, special reports and commissions of enquiries, as well as economic institutions, the Indian immigrants were subjected to injustices, abuses and humiliations at every turn. News of such ill-teratment kept going back to India, and in 1913 the Government of India instituted an independent enquiry into the condition of Indians in the Colonies. They deputed Messrs. Chaman Lal and James McNeill of the Indian Civil Service, who, after prolonged investigations, produced voluminous reports on conditions in British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji. The Commissioners recommended, *inter-alia* that:

(a) In all Colonies, provisions, whether operative or inoperative in practice, which are unduly rigorous or restricitive, should be expunged from the Ordiances.

(b) Separate places of detention should be provided for Indian labourers sentenced to imprisonment.

(c) Facilities for occupying land on a satifacorily secure tenure basis should be facilitated.

(d) Registration of marriages should be facilitated (Indian marriages were not legalized until after World War II).

(e) The special needs of Indian children in the matter of primary education should receive consideration (to this effect, the Indian children were made to work in the sugar plantations as recently as at the end of world war II, even though these recommendations were made some 35 years before).

(f) The regulations affecting the grant of medical relief to the poorer classes of Indians not residieg on estates should be revised.

(g) Reports should be presented concerning the health, earnings, cost-of-living and surplus, etc. and other sophisticated matters affecting the lives of the Indians.

The indenture system was not very popular in India right from the beginning. Public opinion was hostile to it. In December 1908 the Government of India worte: "It is a significant fact that although numbers of emigrants return annually from the colonies bringing with them in many instances large accumumulated savings, no perceptible stimulus to emigration appears to result and it is difficult to explain the general relucatnce to emigrate of which the emigration agents complain, except on the assumption that there existed in the minds of the people an ingrained suspicion of emigration.

Mr. H.S.L. Polak, an acknowledged authority on Indian Colonial questions had accurutely described the relationship which existed between employer and labourer under the indenture system.

"Indenure is a contract of a peculiar nature entered into, not under the Common Law of the country but under a Statute specifically devised to meet the case. The labourer never knows to what employer he is to be allotted, being required to enter into this contract in India and to consent to allotment to any employer that the protector might choose for him. Between the master and the servent, under such a law, there can be no human relationship save as may often be observed an owner and his cattle. And as a matter of fact, the Indian labourer is often regarded by his employer as of less account than a good beast, for the latter costs money to replace whereas the former is a cheap commodity. So long as breach of contract on the part of the labourer is always (and on that of the employer seldom) regarded as a criminal and not as a civil matter, it is impossible to regard indenture in any light other than that of a system perilously approaching one of servile conditions and this quite independently of what may obtain in other parts of the world where conditions may be better or worse."

Mr. G.K. Gokhale and other leading Indian statesmen carried on a relentless struggle against organised emigration. There can be no doubt that the Indian attitude towards indentured labour was associated with and at least inspired by the growing sensitiveness of educated Indians as regards their position outside their own country, and their claims to recognition which progressively increased until they took the form of a demand for equality of status with any other British subjects in every part of the Empire.

In 1916 Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya moved a resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly demanding the abolition of the system of emigration. In accepting the resolution Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India said that no one who knew anything of Indian sentiment could remain ignorant of the deep and genuine disgust to which the continuance of the indentured system had given rise and that educated Indians looked upon it as a badge of helotry. He hismelf was utterly opposed to the system and he had received the authority of the Secretary of State for India to accept the resolution.

Effect was accordingly given to the resolution in the following year when a regulation was passed under the Defence of India act prohibiting any Indian from departing by sea out of British India for the purpose of the intention of labouring for hire by any country beyond the limits thereof save under licence.

This action on the part of the Indian Government met with universal satisfaction and approval.

"India," writes Professor Barriedale Keith, "has rightly put an end to the system of the export of indentured Indian labour which conferred great benefits on the West Indian Colonies, Mauritius and Fiji, and Indians in there territories are now absolutely free settlers, thus removing a condition of affairs which was as damaging to Indian prestige as it was dubious advantage to many of the labourers." After seventy years of continuous protests from the people of India against the Indenture system it was finally abolished in 1917.

From 1917, after indentureship was abolished the village settlements kept growing larger and larger as more and more people kept abandoning the filthy, diliapidated and congested estate barracks. They were gradually becoming incoroporated into the economic and social life of the country. They gradually crept into the commercial field as petty shopkeepers and as independent agriculturists purchasing their own lands and raising crops and cattle. Other fields of activities were explored such as transport, service stations, cinema houses, timber exploitation, etc.

There were still areas which were closed to them and up to the present time such as banking, and the engineering field was, up to recent times, reserved for whites only. However, as the Indians grew in prosperity their children were sent abroad for higher learning and many of them returned as lawyers and doctors of medicine and such other professions as would earn them an independent economic life since race prejudice kept them out of the better paid jobs in the white-controlled industries and government.

In the social field they continued to suffer the effects of racial discrimination and prejudices which presented them with religious disabilities touching as they did on the most sensitive part of Indian life, confronting the Indians with a most humiliating situation. Non-recognition, in particular, of marriages contracted according to the Hindu and Muslim personal law in the West Indies, Souh Africa, Mauritius, etc. had been a cause of much agony and anxiety to Indians. The Pillai-Tiwari Report (p. 54, para 22) says: "The result of imposing needless obstacles in the way of contracting valid marriages, in accordance with their particular religious rites, is that people contracted invalid marriages. The invalidating marriages on non-registration created many difficulties in the way of succession to intestate estates. That the hard-earned money of poor immigrants should be taken over by the State, while their children, legitimate or illegitimate should go abegging, is a glaring injustice which calls for immediate redress. Moreover, the illegitimacy of children with consequent disinheritance clutched at the heart-strings of Indians, as it cast a slur on Indian womanhood whose honour constitute the valuable part of Indian social and religious life."

The educational system cut deep into the way of life of the Indians and led the way for their eventual proselytization and submissions to the process of dehumnaization and negritude. The system aimed at laying their minds and souls bare and ready to assimilate the hybrid Anglo-American culture through a subtle process of brainwashing.

The end of World War II brought about radical changes in the situation of the Indians. Political changes were being brought about by the Colonial governments both in Trinidad and Guyana. Local self-government was gradually introduced and at first it seemed as though for the first time Indians would have a say in the administration of the affairs of the colonies. No sooner than this hope was raised, and the people were given the opportunity of electing the members of the Legislature, the mysterious international forces combined to create the so-called Caribbean Commission, whose responsibility it was to set the stage for a bitter racial confrontation between the Indians and Negroes in Trinidad, Guyana and Suriname.

Preparations were being made for the gradual transfer of power from that of Colonial rule to that of Dominion Status and exentually full self-government. Eelctoral procedures unfavourable to the Indians were adopted and unfair practices were resorted to in order to deprive the Indians of their voting rights and to reduce their voting strength. The Caribbean Commission set the stage for racial confrontation. The colonial powers of the Western Hemisphere, i.e., the United States, Britain, France and Holland were integral parts of this organization with the United States playing the dominant role and being the front piece of the mysterious world government.

In preparing local people to manage the affairs of the state prior to independence, a purely negro national guard was organized, with just an inkling and sprinkling of Indians here and there mainly in subordinate positions of the security forces. The police force was already a predominantly negro force with a few white officers in the top ranks, but even these ranks were now taken over by negroes trained by the Colonial government and the United States.

Together with the unfavourable electoral procedures, there was gerrymandering of electoral boundaries in favour of negroes and against the Indians. Illegal Afro-West Indian immigrants swarmed into Trinidad from every direction to bolster up the numerical strength of the negro minority and to reduce the numerical strength of the Indian majority as well as to reduce their voting strength. The names of Indian voters were deliberately left out of the voting lists while hundreds of thousands of negroes from the other islands queved up on voting day to cast their votes. For this collaboration, they were paid off handsomely by obtaining jobs in government service and private enterprises as well by those who were parties to the conspiracy against the Indians, while Indians were being discriminated against for such opportunities.

The agricultural development programs were directed towards the negro elements. Government's agrarian reform programs, technical assistance, marketing facilities and price stabilization as well as development of agricultural cooparatives were mainly channelled towards the negro elements, with the Indians receiving only residual benefits from such programs.

Neither during the pre-independence day nor the post-independence period did the Indians receive any substantial assistance from government for improving their lot. Moreover, lands that had been cultivated by poor Indians farmers for years were taken over by government to construct housing for negroes and such farmers have been deprived of their only source of livelihood on the one hand, and on the other, on account of race they did not qualify for government assistance in receiving newly developed agricultural cooperative plots as was done for the negroes. Only a token number of Indians are given lands and other facilities under the agrarian reform program of the government.

The newly created National Oil Company, which is government owned, in collaboration with American drilling companies is essentially an Afro-National Oil Company, which, like the newly organized cooperative societies, is dominated exclusively by negroes. These official ventures offer very few opportunities for Indians.

The educational institutions of higher learning are tailored to put the negroes on a higher educational levels than the Indians and other minorities. The University College of the West Indies in Trinidad and other institutions for vocational training and technical schools cater mainly for negroes and few Indians are selected for studies in such institutions in proportion to their numbers. These institutions, by and large, are located in such areas as where they best suit the convenience of negro students.

Government decides on the award of local and international scholarships and negroes are given preference to such scholarships while Indians are placed at a disadvantage.

In the schools of Trinidad and Guyana, Hindi or Urdu is not allowed. Indian children must study English, the official language, and Spanish as a compulsory subject even though the Spanish population in Trinidad or Guyana does not amount to a mere one per cent.

In the Government subsidized hospitals, free medicines are made available to paupers. Negroes get the full advantage of such medical facilities, but Indians are seldom given free medicines. They are usually told to obtain their medicines from pharmacies where they must pay for them. The food offered in government-run health institutions is prepared according to the standards of the non-Indians. Indian patients at such institutions must eat food given to them even though such food served may be contrary to their religious convictions or their taste.

The housing program of the Government is the very best example of government's biased racial policies. Indians are almost entirely excluded from government-sponsored housing projects. Most housing projects are executed in areas predominantly Indian where the racial balance is slightly in their favour. By construction of housing schemes in such areas it is hoped that the balance will be shifted in favour of the negroes. The housing program is an important arm used against the Indians for electrol purposes.

There is one official department concerned with development of culture. This department caters only for negro culture. The media of communications is used for the propagation of the so-called West Indian culture with a racial bias. By West Indian culture is meant Afro-West Indian or Afro-Anglo-American culture. Within this context of West Indian culture there is no room for Indian culture. The government-owned radio and television stations project this culture in the same light. As Christianity and civilization are synonymous with the white man, so West Indian culture is synomymous with the negro. These instruments are used to create a superiority complex among the negroes and an inferiority complex among the Indians. On the radio and television, very little time is allotted to Indian programs, and even these have to be paid for. The Trinidad and Tobago Television allows half an hour per cent week for Indian programs, and even this is not well organized. The rest of the programs are negro programs for which they do not have to pay, and they are designed to project the image of the negro.

The government of Trinidad has been projecting Trinidad in foreign lands as a negro-Trinidad. The image of the Indians has been played down. Even in Trinidad itself government has been juggling population statistics to fit in with its racial policies. Figures given on population depict the Indians as being in a minority whereas the reverse is true.

During the year 1917, when Indian indenture was abolished, the

Indian population was fixed at 145,000. At the normal rate of increase this figure should be fixed at about 290,000 in 1937. Around the year 1945 a census was taken which established the number of Indians at 265,000. However, government sources that more than 30,000 persons were not registered, and this would give the Indian population about 295,000, which would be a very conservative estimate even at that. The author himself worked in collaboration with a census officer and is fully aware of the fact that many people who lived in outlaying districts were deliberately left out of the census figures due to the inaccessibility of the country areas in which they lived on the one hand, and the fact that many families did not want to give complete information concerning members of their family of military age during war time.

The Caribben Commission and the C.I.A., the two fingers of the invisible mysterious secret world government connived to bring about a government based on race, both in Trinidad and Guyana, and to put an end to the racial harmony which existed for more than one hundred years between negroes and Indians. The Caribbean Commission set up their office in Trinidad, initiated a program of research into the economic, racial, and cultural position of the negroes versus the Indians. Every inch of land owned by the Indians was measured, every head of cattle was counted, every motor vehicle was checked, and so were the other properties which were owned by the Indians and which were created with their sweat and blood, to warn the negroes that not only were the Indians better situated than they economically, but the slogan was raised that they, the Indians, outnumber you, out-produce you and out-reproduce you. That their rate of population increase would give them a majority in ten years (about 1950), that they work harder and save more, and multiply at higher rate.

After cautiously building up this fear among the negroes by appointing the very negroes to conduct these researches, they exploited their fears in the interest of the mysterions establishment, the Christian Churches and exploited racial instincts to bring about this undersirable situation, pitting them against the Indians, carefully grooming them to take over every phase of the governmental apparatus, furnishing them with the voting machines whereby election results are predetermined, creating a negro oriented police force and militia under the watchful eyes of the British Navy and the U.S. Pentagon, financed by the Anglo-American Jewish financial institutions and aided by the underground support of the C.I.A. in many secretive ways, one of which is to subvert the Indians through the C.I.A. sponsored Evangelical Crusades, and to keep a close check on the Indians by sending their spies who disguise themselves as university students who are sent in Indian villages to do research for their university papers on "the Indians of Trinidad and Guyana", but whose aims and objectives are doubtful.

The history of the Indians of Guyana (formerly British Guiana) followed the same general pattern as that of Trinidad and other parts of the West Indies, Africa, Fiji, etc. First, there was urgent need for indentured labour, then the need to keep this labour force permanent; the denial of education at first, and later such facilities were made available but on the condition of proselytization and indoctrination, deculturization, dehumanization and niggerization.

After the abolition of slavery in 1807, negroes could not be relied on to provide a regular and adequate supply of labour. It soon became evident that unless this situation was remedied a collapse in the general economy of the colony would be inevitable. In 1811 Chinese immigrants were contemplated, as the planters could not depend on the negro labourers to continue their services.

John Gladstone, owner of sugar plantatious in British Guiana, addressed a letter to Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthot & Co., a Calcutta firm, enquring whether it would be possible to obtain immigrants from India for his estates. The firm replied that it had already sent several hundred immigrants to Mauritius and anticipated no difficulty in obtaining a supply for British Guiana. "We are not aware", the firm wrote, "that any greater difficulty would present itself in sending men to the West Indies, the natives being perfectly ignorant of the place they go, or the length of voyage they are undertaking".

After settling the preliminary requisites, Gladstone, and other proprietors of estates in British Guiana arranged for the introduction of immigrants from India. The first batch of immigrants numpered 414. Two vessels, the *Whitby* and the *Hesperus*, were chartered for transporting them to British Guiana, and thus commenced indentured immigration to that colony. On January 26, 1845, the vessel *Lord Hunderford* sailed from Calcutta with 362 passengers on board, arriving in British Guiana on May 4th after a voyage of 98 days. Next arrived the *Success* on July 21, 1845, with 231 persons, and on December 26th arrived the *Nester*, with 233 persons.

As it had been in Trinidad, the same treatment was experienced by those immigrants who went to Guyana, and in other parts of the British Empire. Upon receiving news of the illtreatment of the immigrants, the Government of India suspended emigration from India from July 11, 1838. Legislation was again passed in November, 1844 repealing the prohibition on immigration. The first batches of immigrants who arrived from India in 1838 were indentured for five years, at the end of which period they became entitled to free return passages to their native country. In 1851 when immigration was reopened, an Ordinance was passed (Ordinance No. 21 of 1850) requiring him to serve for five years with an employer selected by him. If he failed to enter into agreement, he was required to pay a sum of 6s. 3d. per month.

The attention of the British public was first drawn to the matter in an article which appeared on January 9, 1839, in the *Britlsh Emancipator*, the official organ of the Anti-Slavery Society of Great Britain. Under severe pressure from the Anti-Slavery Society, the Governor of Guyana appointed a Commission of Enquiry to investigate charges of ill-treatment to the indentured labourers. Evidence given before this commission proved that the indentured labourers were very horribly treated in several estates. They were imprisoned, flogged with the "cat-o-nine-tails"; they were tied with ropes around posts and were flogged and left for days tied; they were flogged on their bare backs; in many instances they were flogged in the very house of the estate managers by specially appointed negroes until their bodies were soaked in blood; after flogging, their bodies were rubbed with salt pickle; their hands were tied behind their backs and they were tied on to posts and beaten with ropes; and this was done several times per day and for several days; when beaten they put the breast to the post with hands stretched out; some tied the hands in front, and some behind.

The following extracts from evidence given before the commission give testimony to the horrible treatament meted out to the immigrants.

Evidence of Will Clay, foreman of plantaion Vreeden Hoop;

"The coolies were locked up in the sick house; saw them the day after they were flogged; their backs were swollen; they were in the sick house for two days after the flogging."

Evidance of Alexander Barrington, labourer of plantation Vreeden Hoop;

"When they run away and are stubborn, they get two or three lickings: they are flogged with a cat-o-nine tails; they were tied with a rope round the post and were licked on the bare back.

Evidence of Rose, labourer of plantation Vreeden Hoop:

"They appeared to me as severely punished as my 'mattis' were during apprenticeship when flogged. They were flogged with a cat, the same as was formerly in use; they brought them all from the sick house together, and took them to the negro yard to be flogged; they were tied to a post.

Evidence of Elizabeth Caeser, labourer of plantation Vreeden Hoop:

"The coolies were locked up in the sick house and next morning they were flogged with a "cat-o-nine-tails"; the manager was in the house and they flogged the people under his house; they were tied to the post of the gallery of the manager's house. I cannot tell how many licks; he gave them enough. I saw blood. When they were flogged at the manager's house they rubbed salt pickle on their backs.

"In spite of overwhelming evidence that a great deal of abuse existed, one member of the Commission of Enquiry, W.B. Wolseley ascribed the blame not to the planters, but to the immigrants themselves for their lack of religious instruction as he termed it. These were his words: "Unfortunately the bright beams of Christiantly have not shone among them and it is much to be lamented that they are left so entirely destitute of religious instruction as scarcely to be raised above the beasts of the field; this may be harsh language yet what but religion raises man above the level of the brute creation?"

Conditions on the plantations were not as advantageous to the immigrants as they had pictured before leaving India and many of them abandoned the estates and took to a wandering life. Many people committed suicide and according to Lord Harris, the then Governor of Trinidad., scarcely a week passed in which a report was not received of skeletons of Indians being found in the woods and in the cane fields.

The plight of the Indian immigrants was so grave that a commission was appointed to investigate the abuses that were committed against them on the plantations.

The Des Voeux Commission which sat in 1870 expressed the opinion that the high mortality among the early immigrants was the direct result of separating large masses of uneducated people from all that they were used to, and throwing them upon their own resources in a strange region where they had no means of realising the unhealthiness of their surroundings. They were not provided with proper medical attendance and could not obtain sufficient food of the kind that they were accustomed to.

The Indian immigrants were severely punished, even when their intention was not to desert the estates but to go to their legal protector, the Immigration Agent General, to complain, they were arrested and charged. For such types of violations and offences a special law called the law of vagrancy was applied.

An immigration found more than two miles away from home during working hours without a pass was liable to be arrested without a warrant, taken to the police station nearest the estate to which he was indentured, and charged for desertion. The power to arrest under the vagrancy law was not limited to the police, but extended to the manager and overseers of the estate.

According to the De Voeux Commission (Quoted in Report of Commission appointed by Governor Barkly, 1850): "the positions of the employer and the employee being unequal, it is reasonable to concede that they could not have been placed on equal footing under the labour laws." As remarked by John Brummell, "I conceive that there can be no strict enforcement of a contract between two parties, one of whom is known and responsible and the other unknown and possessing only a cloth round his lions. As was natural, however, the party known and responsible would also be influential and would use that influence to secure conditions advantageous to himself. The planters continually pressed for the substitution of penalties, such as fine and imprisonment in place of damages, and the result was that the immigrants charged for an offence under the labour laws was gradually reduced to the position of a criminal."

Defendants were not allowed to give evidence. Nor was that all. Though it may sound unbelievable, it is nevertheless true that breach of contract having been made a criminal offence, in accordance with the practice of the English law at the time, the immigrant defendant was not allowed to give evidence on his own behalf. As few of his compatriots would dare to incur the disfavour of their employer by giving evidence on behalf of the immigrant, he was often convicted on the sole evidence of the manager or a subordinate. Even an immigrant of the labouring class, backward as he was, could not be so deficient in the instincts of justice as not to be able to perceive the grave injustice that was being done to him. Even women were not treated with consideration that their sex deserved. Fines were inflicted on them while an average of 20.6 women were imprisoned every year without being given the option of paying a fine. This state of affairs was rectified by Governor Scott, who caused a circular to be sent to all stipendiary magistrates on April 28, 1870, directing them not to inflict this form of punishment on women.

In view of the fact that the colonial masters were rulers, laws and contract makers, interpreters of, and dispensers of the laws, makers of labour laws, interpreters of these laws, custodians of such laws and contracts, plantation owners, protectors, agent-generals, those who sat on commissions of enquiries and investigations, it was quite natural that there would, in almost every case, be made a decision in favour of the planters.

There were seven disturbances among Indian workers on sugar plantations leading to shooting by the police from 1872 on Devonshire Castle in Essenquibo to 1948 on Enmore on the east cost of Demerara. There were no trade unions untill recent times, and collective bargaining was unknown until the out-break of the first Great War. The settlement of dispute among Indian sugar workers was left to "Crosby" as the immigration Agents-General were called.

The suicide rate was very high among the immigrant workers. It was highest where there was a larger gap between the ratio of men to women. For example, where the proportion of sex was in greater imbalance the incidence of suicide cases was higher. Fiji, with 30.4 per cent of females, had a suicide rate among the indentured population of 926 per million; Trinidad with 35 per cent was 406 per million; Guyana with 39.6 per cent had the lowest rate, 100 per million; Jamaica was the only exception to the rule. Her percentage was 41, while her suicide rate 396 per million.

Unlike the negroes, many Indians remained on the plantations and made it possible for cane cultivation to continue. Indians were 79 per cent of the resident population of all races in 1891, 86 per cent in 1911, 82 per cent in 1921, and 80 per eent in 1931. The proportion of Indians on the plantations has since been increased, and at present they represent about 90 per cent of the workers of all categories, including non-resident workers from the adjoining villages. The negroes are mainly employed in processing sugar in the factories, and as cane cutters in the fields during the harvesting season.

Indians did not only come to Guyana to save the sugar industry, and the economy in general from collapse but according to the Sanderson Committee, which sat in 1909, they admitted that the majority of Indians who remained in Guyana after their indenture contract had expired either as small proprietors or free labourers, proved to be a valuable asset to the country as a whole, and even Indian inhabitants of the second and third generations became men and women of considerable property and attainments. The Committe also stated that, those of them who turned to other forms of employment and ocoupations, whether with greater or lesser success, have always been recognised as supplying various needs and rendering important services to which the other sections of the populations are more or less averse.

The Indians have been responsible for establishing the Rice industry in Guyana which has helped to boost the economy and general well-being of that country, and which has also become one of the main exportable items of that country. The sugar industry would have disappeared long ago had it not been for the introduction of indenturned immigrant labour from India, and it would not have been possible for the cattle industry to reach its present dimensions without the contribution of the Indians. At one time, the multitude of Indians had no opportunities open to them cxcept to reindenture on the statutory footing on the sugar estates. There was no provision for settling the pepole on the soil, and no trade or special calling was open to them.

They were there only to fill up the gap in the social system as agricultural labourers. Joseph Ruhoman, one of the foremost journalist of his time, wrote in 1921, lamenting the backwardness of Indians, who were then, as they are now, a numerically preponderating section of the community. He bemoaned the slow progress made by them and pointed out several cirucumstances which militated against their progress, and which, to use his own words : "denied them the opportunity of realizing the full staure of a decent and upright manhood, but which rather vitiated their minds and prevented the free and full development of their moral being. The immigrants who were brought here were intended for service as labourers on the sugar estates, and the planters as a rule die not encourage them to send their children to school. The small number whom they required as book-keepers, storekeepers, sick nurse, dispensers, engineers and clerks were already available from among the Negroes," Ruhoman expressed the view that "the moral welfare of the labourer hardly counted in the policy of the employer and that he was generally regarded as a machine capable of exerting so much man power for certain ends".

In official circles, too, the tendency was to discourage Indians from acquiring education. Charles Barry King, acting Immiring Agent-General, in referring to the compulsory clause of the Elementary Education Ordinance which prohibited the employment of chileren under the age of nine years, stated that it was a source of hardship, because on most estates large gangs of little c hildren under that age are employed in light work, such as carrying earth, ashes and manure and this is not only a benefit to the parents but also a source of pleasure to themselves. Robert Duff, Immigration Agent-General who on many occasions referred to Indians in glowing terms, stated that when a child was educated he looked down upon his father, got beyond control and after that rarely settled down on the land. On another occasion he stated that he did not like compulsory education and that he was against it in the case of Indians as it had a tendency to take them away from the land.

The sugar producers did not want the Indians to become peasent farmers, as they did not want the Negroes to do so when they became free. Their object was to have an abundance of cheap labour during crop time, and they did not care what happened to the workers for the rest of the year. Those Indians who withdrew from the estates developed the rice industry, did cattle rearing and expanded provision cultivation. They bought several abandoned sugar plantations and converted them into prosperous farms where they grew rice and other produce on a large scale.

During the early stages of immigrant labour from India, the indentured immigrants were kept entirely out of politics. A few years preceding the second world war only property owners were allowed to take part in politics. During World War II, however, more political rights were given to the people which enable the Indians to take a more and more active part in the political affairs of British Guiana. After the end of World War II adult franchise was granted and the masses were able to take part in politics as well as to organize political parties. Multi-racial political parties, like the P.P.P. (People's Progressive Party) sprang up based on issuse—not race.

As elections were conducted and the massbased political parties won the elections, with subsequent demands for alleviating the suffering of the masses and the elimination of political, racial, social and economic disadvantages inherent in the colonial system, particularly those pertaining to the sugar industry, a great political upheavel was started. On the one hand the representatives of the masses were clamouring for changes and better conditions and a more progressive from of government, and on the other hand, there was a very strong resistance on the part of the overlords to prevent any changes and alternation of the *status quo*.

Attitudes on both extremes hardened until a show-down was at hand. The British authorities, having the upper hand, declared an emergency, booted out the popularly elected P.P.P. government and hand-picked a caretaker government to prepare the way for a more submissive type of local government.

After the second elections under adult franchise, again the People's Progressive Party won the elections. This time it was not easy for the British government to throw them out of office and they managed, though under savere threats, to survive their term of office.

For a third time elections were held under the adult suffrage system. Again the People's Progressive Party won, even though much was done by the British Colonial government to gerrymander the boundaries against the popular party. But every time victory was possible due to the fact that the people were united under a common multi-racial banner. But this third term of office was the roughest. It was not only the English colonists and the British government that had joined hands to frustrate the will of the people. A third element came actively into the picture. It was the C.I.A. of America which started a bitter racial strife between the Indians and Negroes of Guyana.

We are highly indebted to shir Nageshwar Anandat Maharaj for his laudable work *International Conspiracy Against India*.* His findings that have been cited above show beyond doubt that India was intentionally betrayed by its British Rulers who were displaying their greatness as a show-business but actually they were treating the Indians as their slaves even though outwardly they had discarded slavery.

Later on we shall again review Mr. Nageshwar's work at a proper place when we shall take up the subject of the jews who were trying their best to harm India in the worst manner.

**International Conspiracy Against India* by Nageshwar Anandat Maharaj has been published by Dr. Sudhir Hendre of Bombay. This book pleads India's case. I think the United Nations must make a note of it to see how Indians are treated in foreign lands.

7 *The Greatest Betrayal*

According to Miss Mayo, the writer of *Mother India*, India's social life was most rotten as she saw it. Throughout her book Miss Mayo betrayed India and depicted our people in a nasty manner.

Miss Mayo's malicious libel that Indians' love ignorance and illiteracy is a white lie. Mahatma Gandhi says that Mayo's book is a "Drain-Inspector's Report". In one of her chapters entitled "Why is Light Denied" Miss Mayo tried to account for the widespread illiteracy in India. Village education cannot be undertaken without women teachers. How foolish the idea is. Further Miss Mayo tells us in her book that women teachers do not go to villages for "Indian women of child bearing age cannot safely venture, without special protection, within reach of Indian men. This wicked libel on the Indian nation is totally unwarranted. In sex morality the Indian villagers are far nobler than men in America or Europe.

On page 191 Miss Mayo quotes from *The Education of India* by Mr. Arthur Mayhew (Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces). While citing Miss. Mayo omits a few words to convey a wrong impression. We quote both the possess to expose her:

> "A far more serious objection is the difficulty. . .to safeguard these, ladies who take up work outside the family circle. Their employment without offence or lapse seems possible only in mission settlements and schools under close supervision. In a general campaign they [widows] can play only an insignificant part." (As found in *Mother India.*)

> "A far more serious objection is the difficulty of *providing suitable residence and companions, in order* to safeguard these ladies who take up work outside the family circle. Their employment without offence or lapse seems possible only in mission settlements and schools under close supervision. In a general campaign they (widows) can play only only an insignificant part." (As in the original).

Dishonest dots! How by keeping out just four words they give quite a different meaning to the passage! But it is a trick of the trade Miss Mayo specialises in. That an Indian widow going out to an out-of-the way village cannot live without suitable residence and without companions certainly does not mean that being of 'child-bearing age' she "cannot safely venture within reach of Indian men."

Miss Mayo's *Mother India* is the greatest betrayal of India. It was planned with the help of some officers in the India Office, London. Miss Mayo was given the best of introductions in India. When her book was out of the press, widest publicity was given to it with a view to degrading India in the eyes of the whole world. In 1925 the British rulers of India were highly afraid of Gandhi's Non-cooperation Movement. It was a trick of their political battle to choose Miss Mayo for making a malicious propaganda against India.

In her propaganda against the Indians, Miss Mayo did not spare even Mahatma Gandhi or Rabindra Nath Tagore. She worked with her poison-pen against the social customs of India. The whole world was shocked. In this connection we have to give some opinions about *Mother India,* the pages of which have betrayed our countrymen in the worst possible manner.

The first two parts of Miss Mayo's *Mother India* depict the social evils of the Hindus. Most of the evils dealt with by her, so far as they exist, are really common to all classes of Indians, but she generally singles out the Hindus for her malicious attacks. These chapters are full of rash and vile generalisations against the manhood and womanhood of India. Sometimes these charges contain just that dash of truth which makes a statement more dangerous than utter falsehood.

On page 23 of *Mother India* we find Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad and Mahatma Gandhi quoted. The ultra-moderate politician, Sir Chimanlal, is reported to have stated: "What this country suffers from is want of initiative, want of enterprise, and want of hard, sustained work."

This is put in juxtaposition with a sentence taken from Mahatma Gandhi's weekly *Young India*: "We rightly charge the English rulers for our helplessness and lack of initiative and originality."

Then follows another statement attributed to "other public men of India."

To all this Miss Mayo's glib reply is—

"The British administration of India, be it good, bad, or indifferent, has nothing whatever to do with the conditions indicated. Inertia, helplessness, lack of initiative and originality, lack of staying power and of sustained loyalties, sterility of enthusiasm, weakness of life-vigour itself—all are traits that truly characterize him, in increasing degree, until he admits their cause and with his own two hands uproots them. His soul and body are indeed chained in slavery. But he himself wields and hugs his chains and with violence defends them. No agency but a new spirit within his own breast can set him free. And his arrangements of outside elements, past, present or to come, serve only to deceive his own mind and to put off the day of his deliverance.

"Take a girl-child twelve years old, a pitiful physical specimen in bone and blood, illiterate, ignorant, without any sort of training in habits of health. Force motherhood upon her at the earliest possible moment. Treat her weakling son in intensive vicious practices that drain his small vitality day by day. Give him no outlet in sports. Give him habits that make him, by the time he is thirty years of age, a decrepit and querulous old wreck—and will you ask what has sapped the energy of his manhood?

"Take a huge population, mainly rural, illiterate and loving its illiteracy. Try to give it primary education without employing any of its women as teachers—because if you do employ them you invite the ruin of each woman that you so expose. Will you ask why that people's education proceeds slowly?

"Take bodies and minds bred and built on the lines thus indicated. Will you ask why the death rate is high and the people poor?

"Whether British or Russians or Japanese sit in the seat of the highest; whether the native princes divide the land, reviving old days of princely dominance; or whether some autonomy more complete than that now existing be set up, the only power that can hasten the pace of Indian development toward freedom, beyond the pace it is travelling today, is the power of the men of India, wasting no more time in talk, recriminations, and shiftings of blame, but facing and attacking, with the best resolution they can muster, the task that awaits them in their own bodies and souls."

It is quite plausible to argue that we Indians by disunion and foolishness invited foreign rule. We had not blamed ourselves if that rule has dwarfed our statures, emasculated our bodies, made us incapable of initiative, blocked our way to progress and national efficiency. If such were Miss Mayo's argument, we would have admitted its force.

But Miss Mayo argued in quite a different way. To her political environment had nothing to do with national inefficiency and helplessness.

To suit her purpose Miss Mayo assumed the existence of certain facts which did not exist at all. Secondly, she fancifully traced them to "long-past history", of which she was utterly ignorant. Thirdly, she entirely ignored the effects of economic and political bondage on the whole life of a people including even the social and spiritual.

The British Government of India was a foreign Government whose chief business in India was to get the most out of her and to exploit her for the benefit of the Empire. When Sir Austen Chamberlain (an ex-Secretary of State for India) speaking at the Savoy Hotel on March 29, 1917, said that Indians ought not to remain content to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Empire. In that position she continued up to 1947. The whole economic history of British Rule in India is evidence of that.

Given the fact that for the last 250 years India has been exploited by the British for the benefit of their Empire, her social degradation, the physical degeneration of her sons and daughters and the lack of initiative and spirit in them can be easily explained.

The American sociologist, Professor Scott Nearing, remarks in one of his best books, *Social Adjustment:*

"In a large community, maladjustment (i.e, social maladjustment) can be removed only by concentrating public opinion in the form of legislation. Among large groups public opinion may relieve maladjustment temporalily but permanent reform can be effected only through legislative expression."

Discussing modern social philosophy, Mr. L.T. Hobhouse, the great Liberal thinker of England, often pointed out how the present ideas of State responsibility in social matters had developed. In one of his books.* he suggests the foundation of Labour Exchanges.

"The children must be cared for; the mother, if she is doing her duty by them, is doing one woman's work and may fairly claim public maintenance with no possible question of a return. As to the man, he is a fit subject for discipline and restraint. For him a labour colony must be provided, where he must learn to work and gain his discharge as soon as he can prove himself efficient enough in mind and body to stand the stress of industrial competition."

In that strain he goes on to define the duty of the State towards people of different types and different ages. The gist of his survey is that recent years have witnessed a "remarkable extension of the functions of the state as the organizers of certain great departments of life." Foremost amongst these is public education.

Lala Lajpat Rai says:

"The testimony of history is clear. If one studies the conditions of England, religious, social, hygienic, intellectual and industrial before 1870, or still earlier, before the Reform laws of 1830, one would find that the condition of the masses was worse in most respects than that of the people of India today. Illiteracy was rampant, disease and destitution were widespread, the condition of women and children in the factories was indescribable, and morality of any kind seemed almost nonexistent. Down to 1870 education of the people was in a sad state."

Chapters XIII to XVI of Miss Mayo's book deal with education in India. The first of these is headed 'Give Me Office or Give Me Death.' Miss Mayo betrayed India. She unwitingly chose a heading which in itself is the strongest condemnation of the educational policy of the British Government of India. But she did not seem to recognize that British Government in India owed a duty to the people in matters educational. Her sole concern is to find fault with the Hindus and throw the whole blame for the inadequacy of education and of the defects of the British Indian educational system on their broad shoulders. Chapter XIII of *Mother India* opens thus:

"Education, some Indian politicians affirm, should be driven into the Indian masses by compulsory measures. 'England,' they say, 'introduced

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**Social Evolution and Political Theory*, Columbia University Press, 1911, pp. 179 et. seq.

compulsory education at home long ago. Why does she not do so here? Because, clearly it suits her purpose to leave the people ignorant."

A 'hot reply' to this, Miss Mayo tells us, was given her by the Raja of Panagal, the then anti-Brahman leader of Madras Presidency:

" 'Rubbish." he exclaimed. 'What did the Brahmans do for our education in the 5,000 years before British came? I remind you: They asserted their right to pour hot lead into the ears of the low caste man who should dare to study books. All learning belonged to them, they said. When the Muhammedans swarmed in and took us, even that was an improvement on the old Hindu regime. But only in Britain did education become the right of all, with State schools, colleges, and universities accessible to all castes, communities, and peoples."

The Raja had referred only to the ban against the study of the *Vedas* by the Sudras, but Miss Mayo by resorting to tricks of the trade so familiar to her, makes the statement far more sweeping. Surely reciting the Vedas is not equivalent to all learning,' and 'study of books.'

It is unnecessary to go into details here regarding the curricula at the Brahmanic seats of learning. As a rule, the young Brahmans specialised in the Vedic and philosophical studies.

Rev. F.E. Keay tells us in his book *Ancient Indian Education* that the educational system of ancient India was an interesting and pleasing picture of the life of pupil and teacher. . . dating back to many centuries before Christ."

The teacher had no mercenary motive to impel him to teach, but was to perform his office solely as a duty. He was forbidden to acccpt a fee. The pupil, on the completion of the his course, would offer a present to his preceptors. But "except possibly in the case of rich pupils, it could never have been in any sense an adequate remuneration".

What of the Shudras, the impatient reader will ask? Replies Rev. Keay, "The Shudras were always shut out from Brahmanic education, and they also developed their own system of training for the young craftsman."

Rev. Keay sums up his survey of the Brahmanic system thus:

"Like the Muhammedan education with which it has many points of similarity, it (the Brahmanic education) was at least not inferior to the education of Europe, before the Revival of Learning. Not only did the Brahman educators develop a system of education which survived the crumbling of empires and the changes of society, but they also, through all these thousands of years, kept aglow the torch of higher learning, and numbered amongst them many great thinkers who have left their mark not only upon the learning of India, but upon the intellectual life of the world."

"In Burma," says Rev. Keay, "before the country came under British control, almost the whole male population passed through the monasteries, and were taught by the monks." Under British rule of course the universal literacy did not survive.

These systems continued tenaciously even when political power passed to the Muslims.

Says Rev. Keay:

"Side by side, however, with these (the Brahmanic, Buddhistic, and Muslim systems) there grew up at some time and in most parts of India, a popular system of elementary education which was open generally to all comers. It must have arisen to supply a popular demand for instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and was made use of chiefly by the trading and agricultural classes.

"Few countries, and certainly no Western ones, have had systems of education which have had such a long and continuous history with so few modifications as some of the educational systems of India. The long centuries through which they have held sway show that they must have possessed elements which were of value, and that they were not unsuited to the needs of those who developed and adopted them. They produced many great men and earnest seekers after truth, and their output on the intellectual side is by no means inconsiderable. They developed many noble educational ideals, which are a valuable contribution to educational thought and practice."

These quotations from an authority who could not even remotely be accused of a pro-Hindu or pro-Indian bias, ought to be sufficient to convince any seeker after truth of the absurdity of Miss Mayo's position.

Mr. A.P. Howell, writing in his book entitled, *Education in British India prior to 1854 and in 1870-71*, quotes from the First Education Despatch of the Court of Directors of the Company (June 1814), passages which bear glowing testimony to the efficiency of the indigenous system, and incidentally explains how it was financed. The reader will find that they form a refreshing contrast to the ignorant glib talk of Miss Mayo:

"We refer with particular satisfaction upon this occasion to that distinguished feature of internal polity which prevails in some parts of India, and by which the instruction of the people is provided for by a certain charge upon the produce of the soil, and by other endowments in favour of the village teachers, who are thereby rendered public servants of the community.

"The mode of instruction that from time immemorial has been practised under these masters has received the highest tribute of praise by its adoption in this country, under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Bell, formerly Chaplain at Madras and it has now become the mode by which education is conducted in our (English) national establishments, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction.

"This venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindus is represented to have withstood the shock of revolutions, and to its operation is ascribed the general intelligence of the natives as scribes and accountants. We are so strongly persuaded of its great utility, that we are desirous you should take early measures to inform yourselves of its present state, and that you will report to us the result of your inquiries, affording in the meantime the protection of Government to the village teachers in all their just rights and immunities, and marking, by some favourable distinction, any individuals amongst them who may be recommended by superior merit or acquirements; for, humble as their situation may appear, if judged by a comparison with any corresponding character in this country, we understand those village teachers are held in great veneration throughout India."

Mr. Howell comments on this as follows:

"There is no doubt that from time immemorial indigenous schools have existed, as here alleged. In Bengal alone, in 1835, Mr. Adam estimated their number to be 100,000: in Madras, upon an enquiry instituted by Sir Thomas Munro in 1822, the number of schools was reported to be 12,498, containing 188,650 scholars: and in Bombay, about the same period, schools of a similar order were found to be scattered all over the Presidency. It is much to be regretted that, as each province fell under our rule, the Government did not take advantage of the time when the prestige of conquest or gratitude for delivery from war and oppression were strong in the popular mind, to make the village school an important feature in the village system that was almost everywhere transmitted to us."

Miss Mayo's malicious libel that Indians love ignorance and illiteracy is a lie which has no legs to stand upon. We read in Dr. Leitner's report:

"I cannot forbear from bearing any testimony to the great desire and appreciation of education among all classes of the Hindu, Mohammedan and Sikh communities, as also to the great talents which this 'land of the sun' has so prodigally bestowed among its children . . . Now, as 3,000 years ago, the East is the home of mental discipline, culture and repose."

The following from Dr. Leitner's evidence before the Education Commission of 1882 will give interesting details of the indigenous system for girls:

"Q. 41. Is there indigenous instruction for girls in the Province with which you are acquainted; and, if so, what is its character?

"A. 41. Yes; the wives of Maulvis and Bhais, for instance, are generally taught by their husbands and instruct their children up to a certain age in reading and religious duties. The wives of the respectable Mohammadens generally can also read and write, (though the latter attainment is not so much encouraged as the former for reasons into which it is not necessary to enter). Some of the ladies are good Persian scholars and in a distinguished Mohammaden family that I know, I have been given to understand that several of the ladies are excellent poets. The position of women is far higher among Mohammadens and Sikhs than is supposed, and there is no prejudice against their being educated, provided this can be done without interfering with the privacy of their domestic life.

The British occupation was actually followed by decline in women's education. That was the conclusion forced upon Dr. Leitner by facts brought out during his investigation.

The late Lord Lytton, when Viceroy of India, wrote to the Government here a Despatch, in which, speaking of the expectations and claims of Indians to a fair course of promotion to the higher posts in the services of the Government of India, he said:

"We all know that these expectations never can, or will, be fulfilled. We have to choose between prohibiting them or cheating them; we have chosen the least straightforward course."

And he added:

"Both the Government's of England and of India had to take every means in their power of breaking to the heart the promises they had uttered to the ear."

This book, it seems to me, will be yet another excuse for breaking to Indians our oft-repeated pledges of equality between Indians and Europeans in India.

The Conservative Government will endeavour to hold on to all that we have got, not for the sake of India, but for the sake of the fianacial interests that are involved. It is for the Labour Party to see that our pledges are honoured—to allow the Indian people to take up their own burdens and responsibilities, to become custodians of their own welfare.

Mr. H.S.L.Polak, a British solicitor, who has visited India several times and has had opportunity to come into contact with Indians in three continents, in the course of a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* writes:

Miss Lilian Winstanley takes exception to Dr. Tagore's accusation that Miss Katherine Mayo was impelled by 'race hatred' and other malignant motives in writing *Mother India.* She quotes in defence of Miss Mayo the fierce criticism of their American fellow citizens by certain well-known American writers.

Whatever may have been Miss Mayo's motive, she has, in Mahatma Gandhi's words, written "an untruthful book," and she appears to have distorted facts and statements to suit her purposes. . .

How far this poison has spread, it is difficult to judge but of one thing I am sure—that, whatever may have been Miss Moyo's motive, the wide circulation of the book his promoted and intensified race hatred in India is beyond dispute, and the consequences of this are incalculable.

The following extracts are from the letter written by Dr Rabindranath Tagore from Bali to the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* for October 14, 1927:

While travelling in this island of Bali I have just chanced upon a copy of the *New* [*Statesman* of July 16 containing the review of a book on India written by a tourist from America. The reviewer while supporting with an unctuous virulence all the calumnies heaped upon our people by the authoress, and while calling repeated attention to the common Hindu vice of untruthfulness even amongst the greatest of us, has made public a malicious piece of fabrication, not as one of the specimens picked up from a show-case of wholesale abuse displayed in this or some other book, but as a gratuitous information about the truth of which the writer tacitly insinuates his own personal testimony. It runs as thus: "The poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore expresses in print his conviction that marriage should be consummated before puberty in order to avert the vagaries of female sex ualdesire."

It is a cunning lie against a community which the writer has used when he describes the Hindus as cow-dung eaters. It is just as outrageous as to introduce Englishmen to those who know them imperfectly as addicted to the cocaine habit because cocaine is commonly used in their dentistry. In Hindu India only in rare cases an exceedingly small quantity of cowdung is used not as an ingredient in their meals but as a part of the performance of expiatory rites for some violation of social convention.

The whole of the Eastern continent is daily being helped in the storage of such explosives by the critics of the West, who, with a delicious sense of duty done, are ready to give vent to their blind prejudices while tenderly nourishing a comfortable conscience that lulls them into forgetting that they also have their Western analogies in moral license, only in different garbs made in their fashionable establishments or in their slums. However, let me strongly assure my English and other Western readers that neither I nor my indignant Indian friends whom I have with me have ever had the least shadow of intimation of what has been described in this book and quoted with a grin of conviction by this writer as the usual practice in the training of sexual extravagance. I hope such Western readers will understand my difficulty in giving an absolute denial to certain facts alleged.

Rabindranath Tagore

Moendock Bali, Sept. 6, 1927.

"Ditcher,"—to his friends the late Mr. PatLovett—who had 40 Years' journalistic experience in India and edited the leading Anglo-Indian commercial weekly, *Capital* of Calcutta, wrote in his paper on September 8, 1927:

"The book is devoid of literary merit. It is the crudest form of transpontine journalism. It sold like hot cakes partly because of its morbid sensationalism, but mostly because it was unscrupulous propaganda against the claim of India for Home Rule published at the 'psychological moment."

Mr. A.H. Clark, an American missionary in India, writes to the Indian Social Reformer of Bombay about the missionary feeling regarding *Mother India*—

The very day on which I first had the opportunity I read *Mother India*, I sent to America a brief review of it, which has just been published, in which I said, among other things, that I was ashamed that a fellow-American should write a book whose picture of India was a 'slimy caricature.'

To my personal knowledge a stream of articles and letters designed to offset the effect of *Mother India* is going to America from the American missionaries in India.

It is hard for me to believe that any such warped and hideous presentation of India as Miss Mayo's can long have much influence for evil in the world. It is bound to lead to reaction in which the great gifts of India for civilization will again have emphasis.

Ahmadnagar, Yours etc.,
5th December 1927 A.H. Clerk

Lord Sinha, who has held the highest offices under the Crown—being the only Indian ever appointed the Governor of a province, and who at the time of his death (1927) was a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on landing in Bombay (December 30) was interviewed by a representative of the *India Daily Mail.* We copy below that part of the interview which is relevant here.

I entirely agree with Mr. Gandhi that Miss Mayo has had a good sniff at all the filthy drains of India, that her picture is totally out of focus and I am sorry to say that the book is a deliberate, calculated lie.

"The whole of it?" asked our represIentive—"Yes, the whole of it," declared Lord Sinha with emphasis, "the whole of it as it is pictured. It is a lie, and a false picture."

"I am sure that the book has caused great embarrassment to the British Government. You are giving that book the prominence which it does not deserve. She has libelled and maligned almost every great man in India.

"There have been several Americans on board and they all said that the picture made by the book cannot be true. I also know every single Anglo-Indian official who has lived in India considers that the book is not only false but even mischievous."

Asked to point out instances from the book which he held to be absolutely false, Lord Sinha replied that he just remembered one statement made by Miss Mayo which was a lie, namely, that Indian mothers taught their children unnatural vice. "I can conceive of nothing more atrociously false. I asked half a dozen English members of the Indian Medical Service who have spent each of them more than 25 years in India as to whether they have ever heard of such a thing and they all said that they have no more heard of them than I, and they are convinced that it is absolutely false."

Dr. James H. Cousins, Irish poet and author, who was a keen student of Indian culture, writes in a prefatory note to an essay on 'The Path to Peace':

"The whole edifice of falsehood erroneously labelled *Mother India* rises naturally from a foundation of race prejudice and mental dishonesty which is none the less dangerous and reprehensible because it may be subconscious.

"Miss Mayo calls India a 'world menace' because of certain elements in her sanitary habits, but gives no hint that the 'world menace, of the influenza epidemic of 1918 that cost India six million lives arose outside India. She criticises the water supply of Madras, but is silent on the disclosure last year that milk watered with dirty stable hose had been responsible for typhoid fever in New York. She pillories the sacrifice of goats in a Kali temple, but approves of the practice of flesh-eating which condemns an infinitely larger number of animals to torture and death in Europe and America for the satisfacation of appetite. . .

"It would be quite easy, quite futile, and quite criminal, for me to take from my file of cuttings from American papers (with their records of bribery and corruption. vulgarity, impurity, robbery, smuggling, adulteration and murder) a case in proof of the recent declaration of an American judge that America is the most criminal country in the world.

"I am a student of human evolution and a searcher for the perfect way towards human perfectness, and I assert that the needs of the case in India, are just the reverse of the implications of *Mother India*. Human experience his always shown, and modern psychology confirms it, that responsibility is the parent of efficiency, not its offspring. . . ."

A statement with regard to Miss Mayo's book *Mother India* signed by Rev. Dr. N. Maoncol and Mr. P.O. Philip, Secretaries, and Miss A.B. Van Doren, Hon. Officer, was issued to the Press in the name of the executive committee of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon. The Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India was the Chairman and Dr. S.K. Dutta was Vice Chairman of the Council, and the executive committee included Rev. Chitamber, Bishop of Dornkal, Rev. J.F. Edwards, Dr. C.R. Greenfiled, Bishop of Madras, Rev. J. Mackenzie, Rai Bahadur A.C. Mukerji, Messrs. K.T. Paul, B.L. Rallia and Rev. H.C.C. Velt. We quote the following from that statement:

In a communication to the press, Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, Secretary to the Women's Association in India, referring to Miss Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*, says. "Although the authoress has made the wrongs done to women in India as the subject of the major portion of her indictment, yet Miss Mayo did not have an interview with any representative Indian woman."

Stanley Jones, a missionary with considerable Indian experience, in the course of a letter to the *Leader* of Allahabad, wrote:

My views of *Mother India* may be summed up briefly as follows:

(1) Taking the individual statements up one by one, it is not easy to disprove them. Here and there inaccuracies and exaggerations may be found, but they would probably stand as a whole. This refers only to the statements of facts themselves, and does not refer to the authoress's generelizations about those facts which I consider to be often erroneous.

(2) While conceding this, I feel the book to be very unfair, to say the least. The picture that one gets from reading the book is not fair or true picture.

What happens in the minds of the Western reader who has no facts to set over against the statements of the book may be seen from the words of one Western reviewer: 'India is putrid, worse than Sodom or Gomorrah,' etc; This is a libel on a whole people. No one from the West would feel other than indignant if facts were drawn from the under world of the West along with police court statistics and set before the world as a true picture of life in the West. This is the unfairness of the book. There is another India not in the book, if that other India had been put in we could not have complained. But the India that I know is not there. And that India I love and respect and honour.

E. Stanley Jones

October 5 Ipoh (Feberated Malay States).

Mr. Edward Thompson, British novelist and playwright who served for a fairly long time as an educationist in India, and was Professor in Bengali Literature at Oxford, wrote in the course of his review published in the London *Nation* and *Athenaeum* for July 30,1927:

The indictment takes so wide a sweep, and is so consistently ungenerous, that the book becomes one long 'nagging'.

Mr. Edward's letter is very long. Towards its close he writes thus:

"On page 258 Miss Mayo gives an epitome of the history of India under British rule which was obviously picked up at a dinner-table. She quotes, with ponderous solemnity. the promise of 1784 that "no native. . . shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the company." She adds, "A bomb indeed, to drop into caste-fettered, feud-filled, tyrant-crushed India."

"Yes, and it would have been a bomb to drop into any collection of India's rulers if it had been seriously meant for another century or more. This promise had to be repeated in 1833, and again in 1858; in 1822, and 1824 Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, wrote with acute feeling of the entire closing of every office above the lowest to Indians, and on May 2nd,1857 (eight day before the Mutiny broke out), Henry Lawrence wrote angrily of the same state of things. Miss Mayo ascribes 'the Sikh Rebellion in 1845' to this shock of free Western ideas. Against whom did the Sikh rebel? They were an independent people.

To sum up. Hindu child-marriage and callousness to misery inflicted on animals—but we have our field sports—deserve the fiercest condemnation. But it was a mistake when Miss Mayo let her magnificent case be lost in a welter of general condemnation. She had no right to forget that despite all the unfairness of Indian politicains, some have exhibited unselfish and courageous patriotism and a high standard of fairness towards opponents. She lost her case when she wove into it a bitter conviction that the white man's rule is so overwhelmingly good for inferior breeds that it is only wickedness that makes them dissatisfied."

Mr. D.F. McClelland, the American Secretary of the Madras Y.M.C.A., speaking at a public meeting in Madras referred to *Mother India* in these terms.

"After the reference by our lecturer, Sir T. Sadasiva Aiyer, to the recent book by Miss Katherine Mayo, it is incumbent upon me as an American to make a few remarks. That a country-woman of mine should, after a brief stay in India, write so unfairly and offensively of this country is a source of deep humiliation. I have been able to read the book only in part. I have no hasitation in protesting vgiorously against the unfairness of her book. Generalizations that may be taken for fact by readers are too often statements of personal opinion based upon prejudice."

Speaking at Geneva to group of students from all parts of the Empire, the Hon'ble Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Indian Government's delegate at the League of Nations meeting, said:

"Indians have been helped by men and women of other races, but amongst such helpers cannot be counted persons like Miss Mayo with filthy minds who in all probability are suffering from inhaibited instincts and who have no eyes but for evil, dirt, and degradation."

Mrs. J.C. Wedgwood, writing in *The People*, Lahore, for January 5, 1928, says:

"Many Englishwomen are feeling strong indignation at the way in which Indians have been misrepresented by Katherine Mayo, an American, in her book *Mother India*. We wish you to know how deeply we resent her untruthful vilification of Indian life and the false picture she has drawn of Indian ways and Indian thought. Even if everything evil which she has ralated were true, yet by the omission of the good she gives to her readers utterly wrong ideas and causes them to despise Indians both Hindu and Mahommedan, as 'weak, ignorant and fanatical, 'women as well as men are made to appear superstitious, sensual and slavish, without desire to be otherwise. . . .

"For example, a reader of her book would come to the conclusion that there were no happy marriages in India, but always a tyrannical and cruel old husband ill-treating a terrified child wife. Miss Mayo ignores the beautiful relationship which most often exists between an Indian husband and wife, the tender protectiveness of the one, and the responsive devotion and loyalty of the other. Indeed, the undying, unquenchable love of an Indian wedded pair is traditional, and is recognised among all nations. It is the theme of many a beautiful legend and song. Miss Mayo is, perhaps, the more anxious to have this conveniently forgotten because it throws into glaring contrast the unfaithfulness and easy divorce of so many American marriages. To these 'modern' women, the idea of serving their husbands would seem ridiculous, rather they seek to enslave the man, and get all they can from him, then leave him for fresh game. . . . Another evil exaggerated by Miss Mayo is the caste system, and again there is just as much cause to attack America for the same thing. White Americans despise and will have no contact with Negro Americans—they are the 'untouchables' in that country. But Miss Mayo is so busy picking holes in Indians, she has no time to look back home. She quotes Indian after Indian who defends 'Untouchability' and one only—Mr. Gandhi—who denounces it. . . .

"It would be quite easy for any one of you who had the time and the opportunity to write a 'Mother America' which should show only the dark side of that country—its worldliness and unparalleled crime. its lynchings and divorces, its prostitution and its slums, etc. and make such a travesty of the truth, about U.S.A. as Miss Mayo has done about India."

Major D. Graham Pole, a Labour candidate for Parliament, writes in the *The New Leader*, London, for August 19,1972:

"After a perusal of Mother India,. . . .one might be led to the conclusion that the ideal of self-government for India could have no existence outside the minds of visionaries or fanatics. It is reassuring to remember, however, that some years ago the writer, Miss Katherine Mayo, visited the Philippines and wrote a book about that visit also. It was called' '*The Isle of Fear*,'' and was, in effect, a defence of American Imperialism. Miss Mayo has now, after her Indian visit, done a like service for British Imperialism in *Mother India*.

"No wonder the book is regarded as a godsend by those reactionaries who wish to maintain our hold over India, who have given up their former excuses, and now tell us plainly that 'the basic fact is that India is not socially fit for self-government,' and that political concession must be postponed by this country until Indian conditions improve. "We must not betray India under the pretext of giving her a political boon," one of the Conservative journals tells us in reviewing this book."

Sir John Maynard, K.C.S.I., a retired Indian Civil Servant, who has spent the greater part of his life in India and has filled every office until he retired a member of the Governor's Executive Council in the Punjab, says that he finds it hardto write with restraint about this book. "I concur, I have travelled through India from north to south and east to west on no fewer than six different tours during the last sixteen years, and have lived in Indian households both in British India and in the Indian States. I could write a book on India with conclusions as different from Miss Mayo's as could possibly be imagined—and, if I wished, as partial. I might confine my observations to Indian life as I saw it through these houses in which I stayed, and even so, it would give a truer picture of India than Miss Mayo could draw from what she has seen.

"She is interested in Indian society only where it is unhealthy. She creates her 'atmosphere' in the first chapter with a sketch of what is to us, as well as to many Hindus, a revolting religious rite, although it is not in the least characteristic of India and is practised only by the lowest and most ignorant of Indians. As with religion, so with social customs. To give an idea of marriage in India she has recourse to the hospitals and to the reports of medical authorities, although in the nature of things it is only exceptional cases which come under their notice.

"One would think from Miss Mayo's book that there is hardly a person in India who is not suffering from venereal disease, suggestion which, Sir John Maynard writes, would be contradicted by any medical practitioner who had worked in India."

Sir Reginald Craddock, a recently retired Indian Governor, writing to the *Morning Post* also insists that the picture given by Miss Mayo is too drab and that she has "concentrated on the darkest side".

Miss Katherine Mayo was by her antecedents a tool of the jingoes of America. She was a journalist whose only claim to authoriship was a facile pen, a familiarity with sensational catch words and a habit of telling doubtful stories in a crackling style. Even a superficial reader can point out her ignorance of history, psychology and the science of politics. Yet she was an able writer of sorts. Her first debut into the realm of authoriship was made by the publication of a volume of her 'researches' into the conditions of the Philippines who were knocking at the door of America for their promised freedom. The book was named *The Isles of Fear*.

She entered into a conspiracy with two eminent Britishers of the Indian Civil Service, members of the Round Table Group, both in charge of high offices in one of the provinces of India. The object of this conspiracy was to give a voice and share to the white Dominions of Great British in determining the future of India and to strengthen the chains with which she was bound down for the glorification of the Empire. One of the documents which contained the infamous story of this conspiracy, by chance fell into the hands of Mr. Gandhi, and he made it public. Mr. Curtis was caught red handed, and had to explain away the Round Table Circular as a private letter to 'intimate friends.'

In August 1925 Mr. Curtis happened to be in Massachussets, U.S.A. He met Miss Katherine Mayo, and was at once so much enamoured of her production, *The Isles of Fear* that he wrote a foreword for the English edition of that book. The language of the foreword makes it highly probable that Mr. Curtis—even if he did not find the money for Miss Mayo's expensive voyage to India—had something to do with the idea that Miss Mayo's Philippine work be followed by a visit to India with similar motives and aims.

We are justified in concluding that in August 1925 there was some kind of mutual discussion and understanding between Mr. L. Curtis, the champion of British Imperialism, and Miss Mayo, the author of *The Isles of Fear*, which led to Miss Mayo's visit to the India Office, *en route* to India 'early' in October 1925. Who introduced her to the authorities of the India Office? Who persuaded the latter to give introductions to her for use in India? These are questions which Mr. Curtis could answer.

We find Miss Mayo admitting that sometimes she accompained "a District Commissioner on his tours of chequered duty", sometimes she 'sat in "at village councils of peasants, or at an Indian Municipal Board meeting". How could an American woman, an utter stranger to the country, absolutely ignorant of its many vernculars 'sit in' at the village councils of peasants, unless she was taken to these (probaly pre-arranged) councils by English-speaking Indian officials deputed by higher officers?

Miss Mayo was at the India Office in London in October 1925. In her foreword she gives no date or year to show when she completed her manuscript. Inside the title sheet of the American edition May 1927 is given as the month when it was first printed. From October 1925 to May 1927, exclusive of both months, the total period which Miss Mayo spent on this book (from the date of her starting for India to the date of the first publication of the her book) seems not to exceed 18 months. And during this period we must understand she toured in India from the North-Western Frontier Province to Madras, visited many towns and villages, studied the history of the various communities and their social, industrial and political life. She visted homes and hospitals and discussed metaphysics and philosophic outlooks on life. She managed to include in this stupendous task printed debates of the nine Provincial Councils, the two chambers of the Indian Legislature, the Blue Books and Reports of the numerous Government Departments of all the provinces extending over quite two decades.

This period of 17 months includes the voyage back to America and the writing and printing of the book. Has any writer ever performed such a feat in such a short time single-handed?

Miss Mayo came to India through some agency of Anglo-Indians, official and non-official, who wanted her to write a book of the kind she had written about the Philippines in 1924.

Her book was first boomed in the British Isles by the leading Tory organs who had been agitating against the advanced Indian political parties and their claims for Swaraj.

The chief of these Tory papers, the *London Times*, rufused to give publicity to an important letter of protest signed by almost all the influential Indians, official and non-official, then present in London. The letter ran.

"Our attention has been drawn to recent publication, entitled *Mother*

India, by an American tourist, Miss Katherine Mayo, who paid a visit to India during the cold weather of 1925-26. It has never been our lot to read a book which includes in such a wholesale, indiscriminate vilification of Indian civilization and Indian character.

"We concede that like other cold weather tourists Miss Mayo was entitled to form and express her own opinions. But when a foreigner who spends not more than a few months in our country uses the material gleaned from hospital cases, culled from criminal trial reports and deduced from her own observation of isolated happenings, and seeks to fortify herself with quotations divorced from context, and then proceeds on such slender basis to formulate a general indictment against the character and culture of a great country like India, possessed of an ancient civilization, it is time that we protested.

"She depicts the entire nation of 320 million people as physical degenerates, moral perverts and unabashed liars. If an Indian could have the temerity to pass a similar judgement on any nation of the West, after but a few months' residence in any country in Europe or America, and to indict the Western people, their civilization and character on the strength of the reports of sensational cases and crimes, moral perversions and physical degeneracy as evidenced by the proceedings of the courts, hospital and personal experiences, official reports, newspaper paragraphs and other special instances, he would be rightly condemned as unworthy of serious attention . . .

"We should not have felt called upon to take any public notice of a book of this character, but when we find that the publication is receiving serious attention of the British Press, to the obvious detriment of India, at this juncture, we think it our duty to warn the British public against what strikes us as being a singularly mischievous book."

The book has been distributed free both in Great Britain and America. The Rt. Hon'ble Colonel Wedgwood, M.P., received three copies—all free. It is only propaganda books that are supplied gratis so generously. Otherwise books of history or culture are never distributed free of charge to millions of men.

In the course of a signed article in his own weekly, *Young India* under tha caption 'Drain Inspector's Report', Mahatma Gandhi made the following remarks about this book:

"The book is cleverly and powerfully written. The carefully chosen quotations give it the appearance of a truthful book, but the impression it leaves on my mind is that it is the report of a drain inspector sent out with the one purpose of opening and examining the drains of the country to be reported upon or to give a graphic description of the stench exuded by the open drains. If Miss Mayo had confessed that she had gone to India merely to open out and examine the drains of India, there would perhaps be little to complain about her compilation.

"To the author of *Mother India* this country not only is but has always been the 'home of stark want'. She contends so in all seriousness, and even makes a pretence of basing her conclusion on historical research. But her ignorance of history is matched only by her rashness in generalisation. Her superficial knowledge of history lets her down when she naively speaks of the 'Sikh Rebellion in 1845' (Page 259). Mr. Edward Thompson pertinently asks, against whom did the Sikhs rebel? The English had not yet annexed their territory; did they rebel against their own authority? That perhaps is not a very important matter in itself: but it does mean that the reader need not take Miss Mayo's knowledge of Indian history seriously."

Perhaps Miss Mayo's knowledge was derived from trash-books like the India Reform Pamphlet (No. 9) issued by the India Reform Society, which had 37 Members of British Parliament on its Committee. We read therein.

"We found the people of India, it is said, abject, degraded, false to the very core. . . The most indolent and selfish of our own governors have been models of benevolence and beneficence when compared with the greatest of the native sovereigns. The luxurious selfishness of the Moghul Emperors depressed and enfeebled the people. Their predecessors were either unscrupulous tyrants in indolent debauchees. What is this if not betrayal of India."

The following words from Elphinstone effectively refute Miss Mayo's statement about the back of roads in pre-British India:

'(Sher Shah) made a high road extending for four months' journey from Bengal to Western Rohtas near the Indus with caravan serais at every stage and wells at every mile and a half . . . The road was planted with rows of trees for shade, and in many places was in the state described when the author saw it, after it had stood for 82 years.'

"Miss Mayo has given a good chit to the East India Company. Here is what Macaulay said in his Essay on Clive about Bengal under the Company's rule:

'Accordingly, the five years which followed the departure of Clive from Bengal, saw the mis-government of the English carried to such a point as seemed incompatible with the existence of society. The Roman pro-consul, who in a year or two, squeezed out of a province the means of rearing marble palaces and baths on the shores of Campania, of drinking from amber and feasting on singing birds, of exhibiting armies of gladiators and flocks of camelopards; the Spanish Viceroy who, leaving behind him the curses of Mexico or Lima, entered Madrid with a long train of gilded coaches, and swift horses trapped and shod with silver, were now outdone. . . The servants of the company obtained for themselves a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police and fiscal authorities. . . every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of the Company. . . Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to an extremity of wretchedness . . . Under their old masters. . . when evil became insupportable, the people rose and pulled down the government. But the English Government was not to be shaken off.

"That Government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilisation."

Writing of the Company's methods, even Warren Hastings had to use strong language.

"I fear our encroaching spirit, and the uncontrolled and even protected licentiousness of individuals, has done injury to our national reputation . . . Every person in India dreads a connection with us."

"The extent of the salaries, pensions and encroachments of the company's service, civil and military, upon the Nawab's revenues and authority," says Warren Hastings. "have become an intolerable burden and exposed us to the enmity, and resentment of the whole country, by excluding the native servants and adherents of the Vizier from the rewards of their sevice and attachments."

Governor-General Lord Hastings declared in 1827 (Parliamentary Papers, page 157):

"A new progeny has grown up under our hand; and the principal features of a generation thus formed beneath the shade of our regulation, are a spirit of litigation which our judicial establishment cannot meet, and a morality certainly deteriorated."

About Clive himself a recent British historian says:

"Clive had no sense of responsibility for the good government of Bengal. His sole desire was to preserve the Conpany's political ascendency by playing upon the weaknessess of the Nabab and his subjects." But in the language of Brooks Adams, "the takings of Clive either for himself or for the Government were nothing compared to the wholesale spoliation which followed his departure, when Bengal was surrendered a helpless prey to a myriad of greedy officials who 'were irresponsible and rapacious and who emptied the private hoards. "

India played a very definite part in the success of the British Industrial Revolution. It is a fact almost universally acknowledged; yet how great a part India played in making for the industrial and economic prosperity of Great Britain should be told to all.

Let us consider first the respective economic positions of India and England at the time when the Industrial Revolution was brought about by the invention of the steam engine and of mechanical contrivances. Lala Lajpat Rai writes thus:

"In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries India had enormous wealth; the treasuries of her rulers were full of money, bullion and precious stones of fabulous value; her industries and manufactures flourished, and she exported large quantities of goods in return for payment in gold and silver. Her trade with Asia, Europe and Africa was extensive, and she made enornous profits from the sale of her manufacured goods. Her cotton muslims, manufactured silks, woollen shawls, brass and bronze had made her famous throughout Asia and Europe.

From 1780 to 1930 for more than a century the English trade in India consisted mainly of the export of cotton and silk goods, indigo and spices in return for bullion. During this period India imported practically nothing. Bruce says that "on the average of ten years, from 1747 to 1757, £552,423 bullion was exported to India, but after that year bullion was no longer exported there."

How the East India Company made enormous profits from this trade is told by all the historians of the time. Macaulay writes in his book *History of England* Vol. V, p. 2094. "Of the reign of Charles II, a prosperity to which the history of trade scarcely furnished any parallel and which excited the wonder, the cupidity and the envious animosity of the whole capital (London) . . . . During the twenty-three years that followed the Restoration the value of the annual imports from that rich and popular district (the Delta of the Ganges) increased from £8,000 to £300,000." And he adds that the gains of the body (i.e, the Company) were almost incredible. The profits were such that in 1676 every proprietor received as a bonus a quantity of stock equal to that which he held. On the capital thus doubled were paid, during five years, dividends amounting to an average of 20 per cent annually.

In 1677 the price of the stock was 245 for every one hundred. In 1681 it rose to 300 and later to 360 and 500. The only limitations to the profits of the Company were the exactions of the English Crown, the demands of the English Exchequer, and the dishonesty of its servants.

At that time the balance of trade was entirely in favour of India. The British historian, Orme, in his *Historical Fragments* says that the manufacture of cotton goods was almost universal throughout India. Such was the economic condition of India.

In the decade between 1710 and 1720 the actual export of bullion by the East India company averaged £4, 344,000.

Jevons has observed thus:

"Asia is the great reservoir and sink of the precious metals." From time immemorial the oriental custom has been to hoard, and from the Moghul blazing with the diamonds of Golconda, to the peasant starving on his wretched pittance, evrey Hindu had, in former days, a treasure stored away against a day of trouble.

In his book *Plan for British India* Bruce says:

"These hoards, the savings of millions of human beings for centuries, the English seized and took to London, as the Romans had taken the spoils of Greece and Pontus to Italy. What the value of the treasure was, no man can estimate but it must have been many millions of pounds—a vast sum in proportion to the stock of the precious metals owned by Europeans.'

According to Mr. Bruce, the last export of bullion from England to

India took place in 1757, the year in which the battle of Plassey was fought. After that, bullion was no longer exported to India.

"From this period on the export of bullion to China very considerably decreased and it was only sent occasionally after the supply from India failed. This circumstance was explained in every letter sent by the Directors to their servants in Madras and Bengal, which contained instructions to them to collect as much bullion as they could, to be ready for ships which would come out from Madras and China, and by the answers to the letters specifying the quantity sent by the different vessels."

The circumstances in India at that time were very favourable to the collection of bullion by the servants of the East India Company. In the words of Macaulay, "Treasure flowed to England in oceans." The influx of Indian treasure added considerably to England's cash capital.

As an example of how the East India Company carried on its trade operations we will quote what Sergeant Brago wrote:

"A gentleman sends a Gomastah here to buy or sell; he immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant either to buy his goods or sell him theirs; and on refusal (in case of non-capacity) a flogging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing, but a second force is made use of, which is to engross the different branches of trade to themselves and not to suffer any person to buy or sell the articles they trade in; and if the country people do it, then a repetition of their authority is put in practice; and again, what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is to take them for a considerable deal less than another merchant and often-times refuse paying that; and may interfering occasions and immediate complaint. These and many other oppressions more than can be related which are daily used by the Bengal Gomastahs, is the reason that this place (Backergunj, a prosperous Bengal district) is growing destitute of inhabitants; every day numbers leave the town to seek a residence more safe, and the very markets, which before afforded plenty do hardly now produce anything of use, their peons being allowed to force poor people; and if the zamindar offers to prevent it, he is threatened to be used in the same manner. Before, justice was given in the public Catcheree (court), but now every Gomastah has became a judge, and every one's house a Catcheree; they even pass sentences on the zamindars themselves and draw money from them by pretended injuries, such as a quarrel with some of the peons, or their having, as they assert, stolen something, which is more likely to have been taken by their own people."

William Bolts, an English merchant, thus narrated this part of the sad story:

"It may with truth be now said that the whole inland trade of the country, as at present conducted, and that of the Company's investment for Europe in a more peculiar degree, has been one continued scene of oppression; the baneful effects of which are severely felt by every weaver and manufacture in the country, every article produced being made a monopoly; in which the English with their Banyas and black Gomastahs, arbitrarily decide what quantities of goods each manufacturer shall deliver and the prices he shall receive for them. . . .Upon the Gomastah's arrival at the Aurung, or manufacturing town, he fixes upon a habitation which he calls his Catchery; to which, by his peons and hiracarahs, he summons the brokers, called dallals and pykars, together with the weavers whom after receipt of the money despatched by his masters, he marks to sign a bond for the delivery of a certain quantity of goods at a certain time and price and pays them a certain part of the money in advance. The asent of poor weaver is in general not deemed necessary; for the Gomastahs, when employed on the Company's investment, frequently make them sign what they please; and upon the weavers refusing to take the money offered, it has been known they have had it tied in their girdles and they have been sent away with a flogging. . . .A number of these weavers are generally also registered in the books of the Company's Gomastahs and not permitted to work for any others, being transferred from one to another as so many slaves, subject to the tyranny and roguery of each succeeding Gomastah. . . . . .The roguery practised in this department is beyond imagination; but all terminates in the defrauding of the poor weaver; for the prices which the company's Gomastahs and in confederacy with them the Jachendars (examiners of fabrics) fix upon the goods are, in all places at least 15 per cent and sometimes even 40 per cent, less than the goods so manufactured would sell in the public bazaar or market upon free sale. . . Weavers, also upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced upon them by the Company's agents, universally known in Bengal by the name of Mutchulcahs, have had their goods seized and sold on the spot to make good the deficiency; and the winders of raw silk, called Negods, have also been treated with such injustice, that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs to prevent their being forced to wind silk."

Even Lord Clive wrote a graphic and strongly worded letter to the Directors at Home. But of Clive's own gains, Macaulay says:

"As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were, well piled up, after the usage of the Indian princes, immense masses of coin among which might not seldom be detected the florins and byzants with which before any European ship had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver crowned with rubies and diamonds and was at liberty to help himself."

What followed Clive's departure was thus summed up by Macaulay:

"Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. The misgovernment of the English was carried to such a point as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society."

During the five years following Lord Clive's retirement from the service of the East India Company, the servants of the latter left nothing undone in squeezing out as much money as they could, by every means, from the rulers and natives of Bengal. The 'trade oppression' practised during this period may better be described in the words of William Bolts, a servant of the Company, from his *Codsideration on Indlan Affairs* published in 1772,

says Mr. Bolts on page 73 of his book:

"Inconceivable oppressions and hardships have been practised towards the poor manufacturers and workmen of the country, who are, in fact, monopolised by the Company as so many slaves. . . . Various and innumerable are the methods of oppressing the poor weavers, which are duly practised by the Company's agents and gomastas in the country; such as by fines, imprisonments, floggings, forcing bonds from them, etc., by which the number of weavers in the country has been greatly decreased. The natural consequences whereof have been the scarcity, dearness and debasement of the manufactures as well as a great diminution of the revenues; and the provision of the Company's investment has thereby now become a monopoly, to the almost entire exclusion of all others, excepting the servants of the Company, highest in station, who having the management of the investment, provide as much as their consciences will let them for the Company, themselves and their favourites; excepting also the foreign companies who are permitted to make some small investments, to prevent clamours in Europe. . . ."

This description is "essentially true" according to Prof. Muir's book, *The Making of British India.*

In this way, the servants of the Company ruined the trade of the country, and by coercion and oppression established their monopoly.

The whole matter was clearly put by Burke in the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed later to enquire into the affairs of the East India Company.

The following extracts are made from the Reports of the Committees of the House of Commons (Vol. V, 1781-92, printed 1804). Comparing Indian rule with the rule of the East India Company, Mr. Philip Francis, once a member of the Bengal Council, wrote:

"It must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think that, since the accession of the Company to the Dewanee, condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted; and I believe has proceeded from the following causes: the mode of providing the Company's investment; the exportation of specie, instead of importing large sums annually; the strictness that has been observed in the collections; the endeavours of all concerned to gain credit by an increase of revenue during the time of their being in station, without snfficiently attending to what future consequences might be expected from such a measure; the errors that subsist in the manner of making collections, particularly by the employment of Aumils. These appear to me the principal causes why this fine country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary Government is verging towords its ruin while the English have really so great a share in the Administration."

The Honourable F.J. Shore, once a Bengal Administrator, says in his *Notes on India Affairs*: "The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient, in every possible way, to the interests and benefits of themselves. They have been taxed to the utmost limit; every successive province, as it has fallen into our possession has been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast how greatly we have raised the revenue above that which the native rulers were able to extort. The Indians, have been excluded from every honour, dignity, or office which the lowest Englishmen could be prevailed upon to accept."

On page 28 he writes: "The halcyon days of India are over; she has been drained of a large proportion of the wealth she once possessed; and her energies have been cramped by a sordid system of misrule to which the interests of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few.

Sir George Wingate, recorded the following observation for the consideration of the countrymen when the administration of the Empire passed to the Crown in 1858:

"If then we have governed India not merely for the natives of India but for ourselves, we are clearly blamable in the sight of God and man for having contributed nothing towards defraying the cost of that government . . .

"With reference to its economic effects upon the condition of India, the tribute paid to Great Britain is by far the most objectionable feature in our existing policy. Taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effect from taxes raised in one country and spent in another. . .

"The Indian tribute, whether weighed in the scales of justice or viewed in the light of our true interest will be found to be at variance with humanity, with commonsense, and with the received maxims of economical science."

Again: "Were India to be relieved of this cruel burden of tribute and the whole of the taxes raised in India to be spent in India, the revenue of that country would soon acquire a degree of elasticity of which we have at present no expectation."

On page 126 of his book *India in the Victorian Age*, Mr. R.C. Dutt quotes the opinion of Colonel Sykes, a distinginshed Director of the East India Company who "spoke of the economic drain from India of £3,300,000 to £3,700,000 a year" and remarked that "It is only by the excess of exports over imports that India can bear this tribute."

Mr. Montgomery Martin, a historian of the British colonies and dependencies, wrote in 1838:

"So constant and accumulating a drain, even on England, would soon impoverish her; how severe then must be the effect on India where the wages of a labourer is from two pence to three pence a day."

Professor H.H. Wilson, historian of India, says of the annual drain of wealth:

"Its transference to England is an abstraction of Indian capital for which no equivalent is given; it is an exhausting drain upon the country, the issue of which is replaced by no reflux; it is an extraction of the life-blood from the veins of national industry which no subsequent introduction of nourishment is furnished to restore."

Mr. A.J. Wilson in an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, of March, 1884, wrote:

"In one form or another we draw fully £30,000,000 a year from unhappy country (India), and there the average wages of the natives is about £5 per annum, less rather than more in many parts. Our Indian tribute, therefore, represents the entire earnings of upwards of six millions heads of families—say of 30,000,000 of the people. It means the extraction of more than one-tenth of the entire sustenance of India every year."

Lord Salisbury, the great English statesman, spoke in 1875 of India as a country from which much of the revenue "was exported without a direct equivalent."

Lajpat Rai writes:

"The beauty of the English conquest of India lies in the fact that from the first to the last not one single penny was spent by the British on the conquest. India was conquered by the British with Indian money and Indian blood. Further, almost all kinds of expenses incurred by the British in Asia, for the conquest of territories, for the expansion of trade, for research and inquiry were borne by the Indian exchequer. The profits almost always went into the pockets of Britishers. The expenses and lossess were debited to India."

R.C. Dutt points out how the total revenues of India have always been in excess of total expenditure incurred in India.

According to R.C. Dutt, "The total Indian debt bearing interest was a little over seven millions in 1792. It had risen to ten millions in 1799. Then came Lord Wellesley's wars and the Indian debt rose to twenty-one millions in 1805. In 1807 it was twenty-seven millions. By 1829 it had risen to thirty millions. The total debt of India (registered debt plus treasury notes and deposits plus home bond debt) on April 30, 1836 was £33,355, 536. By 1844-45 the total debt of India had reached the figure of forty-three and one half million pounds. This included the enormous expense of the Afghan War to which England contributed only a small part of the fifteen millions expended, although in the words of John Bright, the whole of this expenditure 'ought to have been thrown on the taxation of the people of England, because it was a war commanded by the English cabinet, for objects supposed to be English.'

The annexation of Sindh, and the Punjab wars undertaken by Hardinge and Dalhousie raised the debt to fifty-five million pounds by 1850-51. Then came the great mutiny in 1857 and the public debt was increased by ten million sterling. On April 30,1858, the public debt of India stood at sixty-nine and one-half million pounds sterling.

About the expenses incurred in putting down the mutiny, it is interesting to note the following opinions of Englishmen.

"But when British troops were sent to India to suppress the mutiny, England exacted the cost with almost unexampled rigour."

Our Financial Relations with India by Major Wingate, London, 1859 records thus:

"The worst, however, is not yet told; for it would appear that when extra regiments are despatched to India, as happened during the last disturbances there, the pay of such troops for six month previous to sailing is charged against the Indian revenues and recovered as a debt due by the Government of India to the British army pay-office."

By 1860 the public debt of India had risen to over one hundred million pounds. Since then it has gone upward by leaps and bounds. In 1913-14 the total liabilities of the Government of India stood at £307, 391,121.

Mr. Digby estimated the drain up to the end of the 19th century at £6,080 million. To this should be added the figures for the last 27 years. Mr. Hyndman fixed the amount in 1960 at £40 million per annum, Mr. A.J. Wilson fixed it at £35 million per annum. Sir Theodore Morison, the official apologist, fixed the amount of what he calls 'potential drain' at £21 million a year. Computed in rupees the figure would look enormous.

Mr. K.T. Shah made a very careful analysis of the total wealth that went out of India.

		Rs.
Political deduction or Home Charges	...	50.00 crores
Interest on foreign capital Registered in India	...	60.00 crores
Freight and Passenger Carriage paid to Foreign Companies	...	41.63 crores
Payment on account of Banking Commissions	...	15.00 crores
Profits etc. of Foreign Business and Professional men in India	...	53.25 crores
Total	...	219.88 crores

H.M. Hyndman says in *Bankruptcy of India*, page 152.

"Even as we look on, India is becoming feebler and feebler. The very life-blood of the great multitude under our rule is slowly, yet ever faster, ebbing away."

We may well say that in India, except in the irrigated tracts, famine is chronic—endemic."

Mr. Arnold Lupton, writes about the average Indian in his *Happy India*.

"His mansion is a mud hut with a roof of sticks and palm-leaves; his bedstead, if he has one, consists of twisted sticks which raise his mattress, if he has one, six inches from the ground. He has no door or windows to his hut. He has a little fireplace and cooking place outside. The sofa upon which he can recline in leisure moments is made of mud outside his sleeping chamber. He had one garment round his loins and he has no other garment that he can wear whilst he is washing that one garment. He neither smokes nor drinks nor reads the newspaper; he goes to no entertainments. His religion teachcs him humility and contentment, and so he lives contentedly until starvation lays him on his back."

On the poverty of Indian masses the evidence is so overwhelming that only a special apologist of the type of Miss Mayo could ignore it. A book which created quite as much sensation as *Mother India* is *The Lost Dominion* written by a retired member of the Indian Civil Service under the *nom de plume* Al. Carthill whom I am quoting below:

"The whole of India is divided into villages. There are hundreds of thousands of them. A cluster of mud huts, a temple or two, some old trees, a well; an open space in the centre is the nucleus. Round about lie the arable pasture and waste of the village.

"The real Indian Nation is here."

Happy India, at p. 182 quotes "an English nobleman of great experience as the Governor of a great Indian Presidency," who, speaking in the early part of 1922, remarked of Indian cultivators—"they do not live, they only exist."

Sir William Hunter, one of the most candid writers and a distinguisherd historian of India, Director-General of Indian Statistics for many years, declared that the people of India were seldom or never able to satisfy their hunger.

Mr. A.O. Hume, Secretary to the Government of India in the Agricultural Department, wrote in 1880: "Except in very good seasons, multitudes for months every year cannot get sufficient food for themselves and family."

Sir Auckland Colvin, once a Finance Minister in India, describes the tax-paying commnnity as made up in the main of "men whose income at best is barely sufficient to afford them the sustenance necessary to support life, living as they do upon bare necessities."

Sir Charles Elliott, once Chief Commissioner of Assam, wrote in 1888: "I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population do not know from one year's end to another what it is to have a full meal."

The Indian Witness, a Christian paper, once remarked: "It is safe to assume that 100,000,000 of the population of India have an annual income of not more *than* $ 5.00 a head."

An American missionary wrote from Southern India in 1902: "The most trying experience I ever had was a three weeks' tour in September of last year (1901). My tent was surrounded day and night, and one sentence dinned perpetually into my ears: 'We are dying of lack of food."

The following observation was made in the *Moral and Material*

Progress of India for 1874-75 (Parliamentary Blue Book):

"The Calcutta missionary conference dwelt on the miserable, abject condition of the Bengal ryots, and there is evidence that they suffer many things, and are often in want of absolute necessities. . . .

Says Mr. H.M. Hyndman in his *Bankruptcy of India*, page 74:

"That the people of India are growing poorer and poorer, relatively far heavier; that each successive scarcity widens the area of impoverishment; that famines are more frequent; that most of the trade is but an index to the poverty and crushing over-taxation on the people; that a highly organised foreign rule constitutes by itself a most terrible drain upon the country."

Said Sir William Hunter, former member of the Viceroy's Council, in a speech in 1875:

"The Government assessment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and family throughout the year."

Mr. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, in his *India under Ripon*, pages 236-'38 observes:

"No one accustomed to Eastern travel can fail to see how poor the Indian peasant is. Travelling by either of the great lines of railways which bisect the continent, one need hardly leave one's carriage to be aware of this. . . In every village which I visited I heard of complaints. . . of over-taxation of the country, of increase and inequalities of assessment. . . complaints of the forest laws, of the decrease of the stock of working cattle, of their deteriotion through the price of salt, of universal debt to the usurers. . . . "

Says the same writer, earlier in his work, page 232:

"India's famines have been severer and frequent; its agricultural poverty has deepened, its rural population has become more hopelessly in debt, their despair more desperate. The system of constantly enhancing the land-values has not been altered. The salt tax though slightly lowered, still robs the very poor. Hunger, and those pestilences which are the result of hunger, are spread over an increasing, not diminishing area. The Deccan ryot is still the poorest peasant in the world.

"My own belief, after a great deal of study of the closely connected questions of agricultural indebtedness, is that the impression is perfectly true as regards a varying but always considerable number throught the greater part of India."

Mr. A. J. Lawrence, then Commissioner, Allahabad Division, who retired in 1891, reports:

"I believe there is very little between poorer classes of the people and semi-starvation."

Grierson's statistics, summed up in the *Pioneer*, in 1893, state:

"Briefly, it is that all persons of the labouring classes, and ten per cent of the cultivating and artisan classes, or 45 per cent of the total population are insufficiently fed, or housed or both. It follows that nearly one hundred million of people in British India are living in extreme poverty!

Mr. Thorburn, Member of the Punjab Commission, one time Financial Commissioner, says of Punjab agriculturists in his book entitled *The Punjab in Peace and War*:

"The average daily income per head of the Indian population is less than three half pence, and that fully 25 per cent of that population never attain that average, the hand to mouth existence of the Punjab pesantry, even in normal years, will be realised."

According to offical estimates, the average annual income per head of the people of India in 1900 was thirty rupees. Lord Cromer, then Finance Minister for India, made the first estimate in 1882, placing the average at twenty-seven rupees. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, estimated the income of the agricultural population, 85 per cent, of the whole, to be Rs. 30 per year. In his budget speech for 1901, Lord George Hamilton, then Secretary of State for India, said the average annual income was Rs. 30 (£2); Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., after a full and exhaustive study of the condition of the people, financially and industrially, furnished overwhelming evidence to show that the average annual income of the people of India was not over Rs. 17-8. Considering the value of the rupee, which is equivalent to about thirty-three cents in American money, we have the startling condition of millions of people subsisting on from $6.00 to $10.00 per year, of about two cents a day—this by official estimate.

The following table taken from Professor K.T. Shah's authoritative book, *The Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India* (Bombay, 1924), summarises the different estimates of per capita income:

Estimated by	Relating to year	Income per head
Dadabhoy Naoroji	*c*-1870	Rs. 20
Baring Barbour	1882	27
Digby	1898-99	18.9
Lord Curzon	*c*-1900	30
Digby	*c*-1900	17.4
Mr. Findlay Shirras	1911	50
Professor Shah	1921-22	46

Speaking of the miserable economic condition of the peasantry in the Bombay Presidency, Dr. Harold Mann ,the retiring Director of Agriculture in that province, in the course of an interview given to a representative of the *Times of India* in October 1928 remaked that:

"He had no hesitation in saying that although the standard of living of the agiculturists had undoubtedly improved, he could not say that the majority of the people were living up to that standard. His enquiries had shown, in fact, that fully 75 per cent of the people in the famine tracts were living so much below their own standard that their economic position had to be reckoned as unsound. Her knowledge of it was the height to impudence for her to write a book about India for the benefit of the American reader who above all was interested in economic facts only. The fact, for instance, that the British Government today was thinking of adopting measures to hit the American film manufacturer in the Indian market, in order that his otherwise incompetent English competitor might thrive, was of greater importance to Americans than all the ignorant sexual and religious bunkum to which Miss Mayo was attached. The American manufacturer was naturally curious to know why it was that India purchased more than half her requirements in Great Britain, whilst only six per cent of her import rade fell to the lot of the U.S.A.; and also how it happened that India's carrying trade was almost entirely confined to British bottoms. 'We raise great crops of tea, and almost the whole is swept out of India—another exhausting drain upon the country'—she makes the Indian economist complain; and in reply she asks—'Do you sell your tea, or give it away?' To this the imaginary Indian economist murmurs—'Ah, yes—but the tea, you perceive is gone.' We ask which Indian economist could put the matter so crudely. Miss Mayo acted in such a naive fashion.

Miss Mayo's discussion of the military expenditure is no better than it could be expected to be with her knowladge of economics.

Miss Mayo chuckled over the Hindu-Muslim riots. The policy of divide and rule was the sheet anchor of all Imperial Governments. British rule in India was persistently following that policy. The evidence of British official records is conclusive on this point. In the earlier phase the slogan was 'Mussalmans must be suppressed'—'they must be won over and pitted against the nationalists.' was the later policy of the Britishers.

Why the Mahommedans incurred the wrath of Englishmen was explained in a pamphlet published in 1858 and written by a retired member of the Bengal Civil Service, named Henry Harrington Thomas.

He wrote "The Hindus were not the contrivers or the primary movers of the (1857) rebellion. It is amongst the Mahommedans and not the Hindoos, that we must look for the real originators of this terrible plot! But in India the Mahommedans had other motives for seeking our destruction, besides their rooted anti-Christian feeling. They could not forget that they had been the masters of the country for many generations, and they never ceased to persuade themselves, that if the British power were thoroughly destroyed they would recover their lost position, and once more lord over the Hindoos. . . . The Mahommedans planned and organised this rebellion (or rather revolution) for their own aggrandizement alone, and that the Hindoo Sepoys of the Bengal Army were their dupes and instruments."

As early as 1821, a British officer, signing himself 'Carnaticus' wrote in the *Astatic Journal*:

"*Divide et Impera* should be the motto of our Indian administration, whether political, civil or military."

The same thing was put in as outspoken language by Lt. Col. John Coke, Commandant at Moradabad, who, about the time of what the British historians have called the 'Sepoy Mutiny' of 1857, wrote: "Our endeavours should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them, *divide et impera* should be the principle of Indian government."

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in a Minute, dated 14th May, 1859, wrote: *Divide et impera* was the Old Roman Motto and it should be ours."

Sir John Strachey, an eminent British Indian Civilian and a writer on India, said—"The existence side by side of hostile creeds among the Indian People, is one of the strong points in our political position in India."

The *divide et impera* jack-boot is still there—only it is now on the other leg.

"In 1909", says Miss Mayo, "the wind switched to a stormy quarter." She was referring to the Minto-Morley Reform Act, which for the first time introduced communal electorates.

"India owes to Lord Minto the system of communal representation", said Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee, in his book *A Nation in Making*.

The 'extra claims' rested partly on the Muslim loyalty to British rule!

Dissension-creating devices of the communal electorate come very handy to the British administrators.

No wonder, therefore, that when Montagu and Chelmsford—and later on the Parliamentary Committees—sat down to shape the 1919 reforms, "the very idea of India vanished from the Bill, to be replaced by the disunited communities of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Mahratta, Brahmin, non-Brahmin, Indian Christian, Anglo-Indian and English."

The bona fides of the bureaucracy in India have been suspected by responsible British statesmen. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, speaks of the widespread suspicion:

"Sinister influences have been and are at work on the part of the Government; that Muhammedan leaders have been and are inspired by certain British officials, and that these officials have pulled and continue to pull wires at Simla and in London, and of malice aforethought sow discord between the Muhammedans and Hindu communities, by showing to the Muhammedans special favours."

In an article contribued to the *Foreign Affairs*, London, Sir John Maynard, a retired Senior Member of the Executive Council of the Punjab wrote in 1927:

"It is, of course, true that British authority could not have established and could not maintain itself but for a fissiparous tendency, of which the Hindu-Muslim antagonism is one manifestation."

Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Governor of Curzon's creation 'East Bengal' in an oft-quoted address picturesquely referred to the British Government of India as having two wives, Hindu and Muslim, of which the Muslim was the 'favourite' wife.

Writing in 1927 to the *London Times*, Lord Olivier, Secretary of State for India in the Ramsay MacDonald government, said:

"No one with a close acquaintance with Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British Officialdom in favour of the Muslim community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism."

Miss Mayo's book gives an impression that the 'Sons of the Prophet' are hostile to the political advancement of India and that they are entirely loyal to the British Government, so much so that they hate the Hindus for their political activities. Hence her general admiration of the Muslims and scrupulous avoidance of any criticism of them. She has largely quoted from the speeches of anti-Hindu Muslim leaders. The Hindu-Muslim difference is the sheet-anchor of British policy in India.

Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah was a Muslim leader of Bombay. He was a great businessman and was the President of the Bombay Legislative Council for a number of years. At first he was nominated by Government, but when the rule of electing the President came into operation, he was unanimously elected to that office. Presiding over the session of the All-India Industrial and Commercial Congress, held at Madras in the last week of December, 1927, he examined Britain's claim of being a 'trustee for the people of India' and said:

"Britishers do not come to India on a mission of philanthropy or for the benefit of their health. I will ask them to drop the pretence of holding India as a 'sacred trust' and boldly to acknowledge the fact that they are here for promoting their trade interests."

A meeting was held at Lahore, professing to be an annual session of the All-India Muslim League. It was presided over by Sir Muhammed Shafi. In this meeting the resolution objecting to the boycott of the Simon Commission was declared passed by a narrow majority.

This ought to be quite sufficient to break Miss Mayo's heart who thought that the Muslims were good boys and wanted no changes in the existing machinery of the administration.

That there was a change in the Hindu-Muslim relations, will be seen from the following quotations from the presidential address to the Indian National Congress which was presided over in 1928 by a great Muslim, 'Dr. M.A. Ansari who said in 1928: "The best guarantee for the freedom of Asia and the peace of the world is a free self governing India. . . "

About the British Rulers' foreign philanthropy towards India, Cecil Rhodes, the great pioneer of Imperialism in South Africa, said "Pure philanthropy is very well in its own way, but philanthropy plus five per cent, is a good deal better." Joseph Chamberlain, the High Priest of Imperialism, was more outspoken. "The Empire," he said, "is commerce" and India, he was frank enough to add, was "by far the greatest and the most valuable of all the customers we have or ever shall have." The history of this philanthropic burglary on the part of Europe was written in blood and suffering from Congo to Canton. The steel frame theory of government, the arrogant claims to trusteeship of dumb millions and the newly invented illusion to cloak the pre-war Concert of Europe, known as the League of Nations, were but different manifestations of the same spirit.

Political propaganda is the beginning and the end of Miss Mayo's book. Every chapter contains reflections on the Indian, showering ridicule and contempt on his life and aspirations. Read the book from cover to cover and you will not find one word of praise for India as a class and not one of blame for the British. The book is unique in this respect. According to L. Lajpat Rai, she has out-Heroded Herod. She has outdone the most shameless apologist of British rule. A perfect, efficient, honest, humanitarian administration; ana a thoroughly corrupt, immoral, dirty, filthy, inefficient, diseased, debased and ignorance and poverty-ridden people—that is Miss Mayo's picture of India. Never for a moment does it enter into her head that the two things are entirely incompatible.

Professor J. Seeley, in his *Expansion of England*, has expressed grave doubts about the beneficent nature of English rule in India. He very significantly remarks-"Subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration." In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, the joint authors described the then Government of India as a "benevolent despotism."

Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson, well-known English thinker and author, discusses the question of the competency of the British people to rule India, in his *Essays on the Civilization of India, China and Japan* which he wrote after his Eastern tour. Here is his conclusion in his own words:

"Of all the Western nations the English are the least capable of appreciating the qualities of Indian civilization. Facility of cummunication has only emphasized and strengthened this attitude. The Englishman sends his children home to be educated; commonly his wife will spend at least half her time at home; he himself returns every few years; his centre is not India, but England. Between him and the Indian the gulf is impassable."

In his *Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment* Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal, who resigned when Lord Morley was the Secretary of State says:

"Young British officials go out to India most imperfectly equipped for their responsibilities. It is hardly too much to say that this is an insult to the intelligence of the country."

Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the well-known British Socialist who always took keen interest in Indian affairs, wrote:

"The British who come to India to rule it, have been brought up and educated in accordance with methods as remote from, and as irreconcilable with, Asiatic ideas as it is possible for them to be. In their work and in their pleasure they keep as aloof as possible from the people they govern."

Mr. Hyndman quotes a prominent British official in India as saying:

"It is sadly true that the Englishmen in India live totally estranged from the people. This estrangement is partly unavoidable, being the result of national customs, language and caste, and largely it is contempt, growing out of ignorance. This tendency to aloofness is increasing."

Speaking of the ignorance of India seen in many Government officials, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald says:

"I have met men in Indian Civil Service who had been there for a score of years. They knew few Indians, they had rarely discussed public affairs with them, they could not answer accurately some of the most elementry questions about Indian life, their opinions on current affairs were obviously the parrot repetition of the club talk or newspaper statements. In fact, they were as separate from India as I am at home in London.

The Right Honourable Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, said in a speech in the House of Commons in July, 1917:

"The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, to inelastic, too antediluvian, to be of any use for modern purposes. The Indian Government is indefensible."

John Bright spoke in Parliament.

"The Governor-General of India (the Viceroy) goes out knowing little or nothing of India. . . .He knows nothing of the country or the people. He is surrounded by an official circle, he breathes an official air, and everything is dim and dark beyond it. You lay duties upon him which are utterly beyond the mental and bodily strength of any man who ever existed, and which he therefore cannot perform. . . .He has a power omnipotent to crush everything that is good. If he so wishes, he can overbear and over-rule whatever is proposed for the welfare of India.

In his book, *Modern India: Its Problems and Their Solution*, Dr. V.H. Rutherford examines the character and results of British in efficiency, and pronounces it "one of the chief causes of India's poverty."

We wonder at the words of Dr. Rutherford?

"British rule as it is carried on in India is the lowest and most immoral system of government in the world—the exploitation of one nation by another."

Mr. Edward Thimpson in his book *The Other Side of the Medal*, says:

"We (British) would repudiate the suggestion that our Indian Empire is a rule of masters over slaves. Yet we judge as slave-drivers would and we assess the virtues of our (Indian) fellow citizens as a hunter assesses the virtues of dogs."

In his book *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt* Mr. Wilfrid Seawen Blunt gives some strong and important testimony regarding British rule in India as seen close at hand and under the most favourable light. He was an intimate personal friend of Lord Lytton, who at that time was the Viceroy of India. Mr. Blunt came to India to make a study of the condition of things here. He belonged to Conservative party in British politics, and expected to find the British conduct of affairs in India worthy of the warmest approval.

Of India he writes:

"I am disappointed with India, which seems just as ill-governed as the rest of Asia, only with good intentions instead of bad ones or none at all." Further he says, "If we go on developing the country at the present rate, the inhabitants will have sooner or later, to resort to cannibalism, for there will be nothing but each other left to eat."

Mr. C.F. Andrews in his book, *India's Claim for Independence*, says:

"The British Empire today with its Indian appendage—with India held in subjection by force—is also a monstrosity. It can produce only bitterness, ever-increasing bitterness, and estrangement, between India and England, two peoples that ought to be friends."

Concludes Dr. Sunderland:

"There is not a myth on the earth more baseless or more cruel than the claim put forth to the world that England is ruling great distant India well, or that she can by any possibility rule it well, or without constant blunders and injustices of the most serious and tragic nature."

Miss Mayo claims to know India much better than Macaulay or Fuller did or than MacDonald, or Rutherford or Dickinson or Sunderland do. Vanity, thy name is Miss Mayo!

Miss Mayo devotes one whole chapter to the reforms introduced in the Indian system of Government by the India Government Parliamentary Statute of 1919. She is evidently of opinion that it was a mistake to have introduced these so-called reforms, and that the Indian system of Government prior to 1919 was perfect and needed no changes.

That seems to be her general thesis, but reading the chapter, it is difficult to say what she exactly means. It is full of inconsistent and unintelligible statements. The only thing consistent and intelligible is her unqualified hatred of the Indian nationalist and her desire to paint him as black, absurd, untruthful, ignorant and petulant as she can.

According to Lala Lajpat Rai,

"The whole chapter is a jumble of rambling statements and ideas, which have no sequence, no relation to one another, no clarity of thought except that there is to be found therein the unqualified praise of the

British official and a merciless condemnation of the Hindu Nationalist. Stories and descriptions are interposed which are only the products of imagination and from them are made deductions sweeping and absurd on their very face. Dialogues with anonymous persons cannot be verified. But most of those reported by Miss Mayo expect a good deal of gullibility in the reader. Again and again she tells the reader that the Indian Nationalist does not mean what he says."

Lala Lajpat Rai tell us:

"Before the Great War started in 1914, parts of India were honeycombed with revolutionary societies. India as a whole was very much agitated over her political status. During the War the pronouncements of the Allied Statesmen and of President Wilson as to the aims and objects of the War, raised hopes in the mind of the Indian Nationalists of justice being done to their country in case the Allies came out victorious. In 1916 when the War was at its worst, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League prepared a joint scheme of such political reforms as they wanted to be immediately introduced into their country. Along with this, they gave their unstinted support to the British Government in its war project. Mahatma Gandhi went about recruiting soldiers for the British Army and organising ambulence corps, etc. India was literally 'bled white' in order to win this war. But for Indian support in men and money and arms and supplies, Britain would have terribly suffered in prestige, and the allies might have been able to check the German advance to Paris."

"With regard to her troops," the admission will be found in the official publication *India's Cantribution to the Great War*, "the Indian Corps reached France in the nick of time and helped to steam the great German thrust towards Ypres and the Channel Ports during the Autumn of 1914. These were the only trained reinforcements immediately available in any part of the British Empire and right worthily they played their part.

"In Egypt and Palestine, in Mesopotamia. Persia, East and West Africa and subsidiary theatres they shared with their British and Dominion comrades the attainment of final victory."

In April 1916 came the disaster in Lower Mesopotamia, the responsibility for which was thrown on the Government of India. After a careful and rapid enquiry the Commission appointed to investigate pronounced that the 'Mespot muddle' was due to the inefficiency of the Government of India. When a debate was raised in the House of Commons on this report, Mr. S.E. Montagu, who was the the Minister of Munitions, made a trenchant speech in the course of which he declared:

"The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic too antediluvian, to be any use for the modern purposes we have in {view. I do not believe that anybody could ever support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements.

Further on, he added:

"I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India Office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and red tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen.''

In the same speech from which we have quoted above Mr. Montagu went on to say:

"But I am positive of this, that your great claims to continue the illogical system of Government by which we have governed India in the past is that it was efficient. It has been proved to be not sufficiently elastic to express the will of the Indian people; to make them into a warring nation as they wanted to be. The history of this War shows that you can rely upon the loyalty of the Indian people to the British Empire—if you ever before doubted it. If you want to use that loyalty, you must take advantage of that love of country which is a religion in India, and you must give them that bigger opportunity of controlling their own destinies, not merely by Councils which cannot act, but by control. . .of the Executive itself. Then in your next War—if we ever have War—in your next crisis, through times of peace, you will have a contented India, an India equipped to help. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, it is not a question of expediency, it is not a question of desirability. Unless you are prepared to remodel in the light of modern experience this century-old and cumbrous machine, then, I believe, I verily believe that you will lose your right to control the destinies of the Indian Empire.''

In the mean time the War was taking a grave turn. Russia was on the verge of collapse. It was apparent that unless India's manpower and material power were tapped, the Allies might lose the War. Lloyd George decided what to do. He put Montagu in charge of the India office and authorised him to make the famous announcement of August 20, 1917, which ran thus:

"The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible."

The 1917 announcement had its effect in India. The politically minded Indians were not satisfied with its language and reservations and they made no secret of their dissatisfaction, but they decided to accept it as a proof of England's desire to do justice to their claims for being masters of their own house just as the Canadians were in Canada, the Australians in Australia, and the South Africans in South Africa.

To translate his promise into action, Mr. Montague visited India, and jointly with the then Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, wrote the Report which is associated with their joint names. Commenting on this announcement and report, Lajpat Rai's book *The Political Feature of India* records thus:

"What differentiates this announcement from the statutory declaration of Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of 1858 is not the language used but the step or steps taken to ascertain Indian opinion, to understand and interpret it in accordance with the spirit of the times and the frankness and fairness with which the whole problem is stated in the joint report of the two statesmen, who are the present official heads of the Government of India. Nor can it be denied that the announcement and the report have received the cordial appreciation of Indian leaders."

Sir Harcourt Butler emphasized the need for a new order of things. Like Mr. Montague he realized the too wooden, too inelastic, too antediluvian character of the old machine. In his own words:

"Our administrative machine belongs to another age. It is top-heavy. Its movements are cumbrous, slow, deliberate. It rejoices in delay."

All this happened in the early part of the 1919, before the Rowlatt Bills had become law, and before Mr. Gandhi had launched his passive resistance movement. Even then there was a section of the bureaucracy gnashing its teeth and swearing at Montague, and fully determind to undo even the little the Secretary of State was doing. This class was represented by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. The massacre of Amritsar and the Martial Law atrocities were the outcome of that mentality.

But even then the Congress held at Amritsar (December 1919), although holding that the Reforms were inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing, resolved to work them for what they were worth. They however had counted without their hosts. In a moment of hasty and generous emotion, they had believed that the announcement of August, 1917, was honest and sincere, and that the British meant to stand by their word. They deliberately chose to ignore the lessons of British dealings with the Colonies and Ireland, and in their attitude towards Great Britain they credulously gave the first place to hope and trust. They forgot that gratitude was a word unknown in the dictionary of Imperialism, and that vested interests were yet strong enough to defeat them at every step. The hour of need was now over. New codes for new time. The war had been won, the Empire was safe, so the British were once more free to manipulate things in such a way as to nullify even the meagre reforms of 1917. The British Government in India was more or less an impersonal machine, wooden as Montagu said, and soulless, exacting and cruel, and it was only waiting for an opportunity to renew the old policy for which Sir George Chesney pleaded in his book *India Under Experiment*. The closing words of that book reveal the real Anglo-Indian mind. He tried to prove that Britain derives no material benefits from her rule in India.

To Sir George "there is a certain sense of futility" in all talk of constitutional reform, all 'suggestions' of improvement or palliatives" as he calls it, for the 'main question' in his words is 'Whose is to be the rule?.'

Some time ago, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Home Minister in the Baldwin Government spoke thus:

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said in missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we should hold it . . . I am not such a hoypocrite as to say we hold India for the Indians, we hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for the Lancashire cotton goods in particular."

In 1928 Lala Lajpat Rai wrote in *Unhappy India*:

"Finance and the Military are the keystones of an administration. Reformed Government has made itself notorious for its maladministration of Indian finance and a deliberate misuse of its statutory powers. The Governor-General has restored taxation proposals turned down by the Assembly. He has sanctioned expenditure disallowed by the popular and representative chamber. Moreover the Government has manipulated exchange and by clever handling of the currency fleeced the Indian taxpayer of billions of pounds. It has treated the decision of the Assembly and the intelligent non-official opinion of the country with supreme contempt."

The reforms associated with the names of Montagu and Chelmsford did not spring from a hasty and generous emotion. The Reforms Act was not a democratic measure—it enfranchised barely 2 per cent of the population; and it did not create a workable constitutional machinery. The little that there was of the progressive spirit in it had been whittled down by the illiberal Anglo-Indian officialdom and by the India Office. Even those who were enthusiastic over the reforms found them to be unworkable. That was the burden of evidence given by many of the Indian Ministers and ex-Ministers before the Reforms Enquiry Committee of 1924 presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman. Even British administrators had been driven to that conclusion by experience. Sir Henry Wheeler, Governor of Bihar and Orissa, expressed himself thus about the Montagu-Chemsford dyarchic system: "Whatever defects exist are inherent in the system itself . . . It is workable now, though creakily." The Governor's European Executive Councillor, Sir Hugh McPherson, concurred with this view.

Sir William Marris, Governor of Agra and Oudh, who was associated with the reforms from their very inception as the Reforms Secretary, described dyarchy as 'obviously a cumbrous, complex, confused system.'

Eminent Indians associated with working the dyarchic machine expressed themselves in no unambigous terms about it. Sir Muhammed Fakhruddin, Senior Minister in Bihar and Orissa, said in 1927 in the Patna Council:

"The classification of transferred subjects is seriously defective. There is no reason why you should give the Minister Agriculture without Irrigation. Why should you give him the administration of the spending department without any control over Finance? Without purse others consider me as if I am simply a clerk to prepare a certain scheme and after the scheme is ready the Finance Department is entitled to knock it down on the ground of want of funds."

Sir K.V. Reddi, when he was yet a Minister in Madras, the province in which it used to be said the reforms were being worked in the best spirit, said in 1923:

"I am Minister of Development minus Forests, and you all know that development depends a good deal on forests. I am Minister of Industries without Factories, which are a reserved subject, and Industries without Factories are unimaginable. I am Minister of Agriculture minus Irrigation. You can understand what that means. How Agriculture can be carried on extensively without Irrigation, in the hands of those who are responsible for it, is hard to realize. I am also Minister of Industries without Electricity, which is also a reserved subject. The subjects of Labour and Boilers are also reserved."

The Minister rightly concluded by saying; "But these, after all, are some only of the defects of the reform scheme."

Sir K.V. Reddi's sentences quoted above furnish good commentary on the story of the 'transferred' departments. The 'responsible' Ministers are not quite responsible. Besides, as Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who himself belonged to the 'reserved' half of the Bihar and Orissa Government, points out "the newest Executive Councillor is . . . senior to the oldest Minister. In the 'Executive' or Reserved half it is the European Member that dominates. In one case we are told, though an Indian Executive Councillor was labelled the 'Home Member,' the main work of the Appointment Department was entrusted by the Governor not to him but to the Civilian colleague. When the point was raised in the Legislature, the answer was given that the transaction of official business was a domestic concern of the Government!"

The transferred departments were very often controlled not by the Indian Ministers, but by their permanent secretaries who were generally European I.C.S. men. Sir Ali Imam who has held the highest judicial and executive offices under the Crown said thus:

"The transferred departments are in the hands of Ministers who are supposed to be responsible to the House. But while all the appearance of democracy is there, it is a shell without the kernel. The Minister has to run his departments, but he must have a permanent Secretary over whom he has no control. If the Minister wants anything to be done, the Secretary can go beyond him to the Governor, and the latter can overrule the Minister. The result is that although the Minister is said to be responsible to the House, he has to carry out the orders of the Governor. The danger lies in this that a form has been given to the constitution but without the substance."

Mr. E. Villiers, who twice represented Bengal Europeans in the Legislature, said in his manifesto.

"I hold them (the reforms) to be wrong in practice, since, if we are going to carry out the policy of teaching India how to rule herself with the maximum of efficiency and at the minimum of cost, if we are to teach her a sense of 'political responsibility', we are going the wrong way to do it. Instead of teaching her responsibility we are teaching her irresponsibility. . . . In these circumstances, then, feeling as I do strongly on the question, I do not think that I can any longer serve your interests or the interests of the Provinces to advantage."

Prominent British statesmen expressed their misgivings about the workability of the dyarchical system. Lord Curzon in the Lords' Debate on the Reforms accepted the decision of the House, but did not fail to remark that personally he abominated the system. Lord Ronaldsay, former Governor of Bengal recorded about this system that it was a "complicated constitutional machine." Even Lord Birkenhead said that he was "very distrustful of the dyarchical principal." He pronounced it to be pedantic and hide-bound.

We cannot blame Indians when they endorse this verdict about the system. Lala Lajpat Rai wrote in 1928 in his book *Unhappy India:*

"In the post-war world a keen struggle has been going on between the principles of imperialism and socialism. The War has produced a revolution in Russia, the like of which has never been known in history. The Russian revolution has been opposed and the Soviet has been attacked in many ways by the capitalistic Empires of Europe. We have been from time to time told that Russia's dissolution was imminent, yet it has survived all those attacks and is very much alive, so much so that British diplomacy and even British Foreign Office have to take note of the influence of Russia both political and economic in Asia and in Europe. We may or may not agree with Bolshevik ideas, but it is certain that the experiment that is being tried in Soviet Russia is going to influence the life of the world in a great measure. There is no doubt from what one can observe in Europe and America that the tide against imperialism is rising. A struggle between imperialism and socialism, or say, between capitalism and socialism will take some time, but by all portents, eventually the New Spirit is bound to triumph."

9 *Blemishes On The British Raj*

Until the British paramount power was established in our country the whole of India never acknowledged a single ruler. For well-nigh a thousand years prior to its final conquest by the British, it was a perpetual battlefield. The eventual triumph of British diplomacy restored to India such unbroken peace as she had not known since the days immediately before the invasion of Alexander. And it was unquestionably the constant endeavour of British Administrators to enable the country fully to realise the blessings of peace. The words which that extremely well informed and acute observer, the Abbe Dubois, wrote 180 years ago have since received abundant confirmation. "The justice and prudence which the present rulers display in endeavouring to make the people of India less unhappy than they have been hitherto; the anxiety they manifest in increasing their material comfort; above all, the inviolable respect which they constantly show for the customs and religious beliefs of the country; and lastly, the protection they afford to the weak as well as to the strong, to the Brahmin as to the *Pariah*, to the Christian, to the *Mohammedan*, and to the Pagan; all these have contributed more to the consolidation of their power than even their victories and conquests."

Whether the Abbe Dubois is right or wrong will be seen when we reach the Gandhian era of Indian History. Three eighth of the country was left under the immediate sway of native rulers of different grades, and possessing various degress of independence; but all utterly unconnected with one another, their only bond being the sovereignty of the Emperor, the one independent sovereign. There were about eight hundred feudatory states in India, some of them very tiny. Foremost among them were reckoned the seventeen principalities rules by Rajputs, who represented the purest Hindu blood; the Rana of Udaipur, indeed, claimed descent from Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana*, (who is generally worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu). The government of these Rajput states was of a patriarchal character, the land being parcelled out between the sovereign and his subjects, who, as members of the same clan, were accounted his kinsmen. The Maharajah of Kashmir was also a Rajput, descended from Gulab Singh, to whom, by a most disreputable transaction, that lovely country was sold on the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. The most considerable Mohammedan prince in India was the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose dominions comprised an areas of 82,698 square miles. His importance was indicated by the fact that he was entitled to a salute of twenty-one guns, an honour conferred upon only two other native feudatories, the Maharajah of Mysore and the Gaikwar of Baroda. At the more important of the course of native princes, the British Government was represented by a Resident, whose duty was to watch over the administration, and, by timely and authoritative counsels, to prevent misgovernment and oppression. The whole Rajasthan was supervised by a political officer residing at Abu, who was styled Agent to the Governer General. Similarly, the native states of Central India constituted an Agency, the Agent being placed at Indore. One of the most important reforms carried out in the feudatory principalities of late years was the conversion of their military forces into Imperial Service Troops. The effect of this measure, Colonel Durand well observes in his book *The Making of a Frontier*, has been that "Small, compact bodies of well-trained, disciplined, and regularly paid troops were substituted for an armed rabble in all native states. The duty of the great chiefs to share in the defence of the Empire was emphasised; the readiness of the Supreme Government to give their troops a place of honour, and its open and avowed trust in the loyalty of the great martial races, were proclaimed to the world. It was a great scheme giving to the fighting races and to their hereditary leaders, a chance of wearing the sword, of resuming the honourable profession of arms, the only one for many races and castes in which a man of good blood can engage. The plan has worked splendidly. The Imperial Service Troops now represent a force of some 20,000 men, the pick of the population of the Native State."

So much may suffice as to the territories under native rule. The rest of the British Indian Empire—five eighth of the whole was directly under British administration. This vast region was divided into thirteen provinces: Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the North Western Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab, Burmah, the Central Provinces, Assam, Ajmere, the Berars, Coorg, Baluchistan, and the Andamans. They vary much in extent, the area of Coorg was only 1583 *miles*, while 171,430 square miles were comprised in Burmah. They vary also in the method of their rule. Madras and Bombay were each administered by a Governor appointed by the Crown, who was assisted by a Council composed of two eminent members of the Coveted Civil Service. Bengal, the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Burmah were under Lieutenant-Governors, Oudh and the Central Provinces and Assam were under Chief Commissioners, nominated by the Viceroy. Baluchistan was administered by the Agent to the Governor-General as Commissioner. The Andamans were under a Superintendent and Chief Commissoner. The Resident at Mysore was commissoner of Coorg. Berar was administered by a commissoner who was subordinate to the Resident of Hyderabad. And Ajmere was under a Commissioner who was subject to the Governor-General's Agent for Rajputana.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces was also the chief Commissioner of Oudh. The authority exercised by the Viceory over the Lieutenant, Governors, and other rulers of Provinces appointed by him was direct and effective. The Governors of Madras and Bombay were under his control. He also controlled finances and consequently public works throughout India. He supervised the army and directed internal and external diplomacy. He was assisted by a Council of six, composed of the Commander-in-Chief in India, a legal member, a financial member, a military member, and two distinguished and experienced civil servants. He held his office for a term of five years, and was himself subject to the control of the Security of State for India, who again was, assisted by a Council.

Laws were made for all India by the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, and for various parts of it by the Legislative Councils of local Governments. In these assemblies there were members who were supposed to bear a representative character, as they were appointed on the recommendation of certain local bodies.

The various provinces of India were divided into districts; the district being the territorial unit, the unit of administration. At the head of each was a Collector-Magistrate, or Deputy Commissioner, who as a rule, was taken from the Indian Civil Service, appointments to which were obtained by open competition at examinations held in London. This official, who received a salary ranging from £ 1200 to £ 2000 a year, filled position of great importance, involving many and diverse responsibilities and anxieties. The tract of country which he ruled was sometimes very extensive; one of the districts in the Madras Presidency was larger than Denmark. "Upon his energy and personal character," writes Sir William Hunter, "depends ultimately the efficiency of our Indian Government. His own special duties are so numerous and so various as to bewilder the outsider; and the work of his subordinates European and native, largely depends upon the stimulus of his personal example. His position hss been compared to that of the French Priest, but such a comparison is unjust in many ways to the Indian District officer. He is not a mere subordinate of a central bureau, who takes his colour from his chief, and represents the political parties or the permanent officialism of the capital. This Indian Collector is a strongly individualised worker in every department of rural wellbeing, with a large measure of local independence and of individual initiative. As the name of the Collector-Magistrats implies, his main functions are two-fold. He is a fiscal officer, charged with the collection of the revenue from the land and other sources; he is also a revenue and criminal judge, both of first instance and in appeal. But his title by no means exhausts his multifarious duties. He does in his samaller local sphere all that the Home Secretary superintends in England, and a great deal more, for he is the representative of a paternal and not of a constitutional government. Police, gaols, education, Municipalities, roads, sanitation, dispensaries, the local taxation, and the imperial revenues of his district are to him matters of daily concern. He is expected to make himself acquainted with every phase of the social life of the natives, and with each natural aspect of the country. He should be a lawyer, an accountent, a surveyor, and a ready writer of State papers. He ought also to possess no mean knowledge of agriculture, political economy, and engineering." In most parts of India there was an officer called Commissioner who had under his supervision several districts. But in Madras this functionary did not exist. Instead of Commissioners, there was in that Presidency a Board of Revenue, to which all the District Collectors were directly subordinate.

The Collector-Magistrate, or Deputy Commissioner was assisted in his duties by a vast number of subordinates. First came those assistant Collectors, or commissioners and Magistrates, who, like him, belonged to the Covenanted Civil Service of India. Next in the official hierarchy were Deputy Collectors and Magistrates, who were sometimes Europeans or Eurasions, but more commonly natives. And then *Tehsildars*, or as they were called in Bombay, *Mamlatdars*, who were also Subordinate Magistrates, Whether of the First or Second Class, and who were almost always natives.

Besides these administrative magistrates, there were also in each district purely judicial functionaries, of whom the Chief was the Judge-District and Sessions or District Judge was his full title and he was ordinarily taken from the Covenanted Civil Service. In civil causes he had unlimited jurisdiction, as he had also in criminal except over European British subjects—but capital sentences passed by him were carried out without the confirmation of the High Court to which he was subordinate, and to which an appeal from his decisions lay. There were many High Courts in British India. In smaller provinces their powers were exercised by Judicial Commissioners. Of the Judges of the High Courts, at least one third including the Chief Justice, were barristers of not less than five years standing. Another third were taken from the Covenanted Civil Service, and some from the local bars, which were largely composed of Hindu and Mohammedan Advocates. Besides their appellate jurisdication, the High Courts of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had an original jurisdiction also in the cities in which they were located; and European British subjects were tried only by a High Court for grave offences. The system of criminal law prevailling in British India was largely based upon the English, and was embodied in the Indian Penal Code, the work chiefly of Lord Macaulay. Even to day our law of contracts and torts also is substantially English, as is the law of evidence. This was given to us by the British. Even today the law of marriage and inheritance was determined by the customs, usages, and Sacred books of the various classes of the community. The public peace was kept by a large number of police.

No one can deny that British system of civil and criminal administration was vastly superior to anything which India ever possessed under former rulers. Its defects arose chiefly from causes extraneous to it. The unblemished integrity and unswering devotion to duty of the officials, whether English or Indian, who occupied the higher posts, no one will call in question. The character of the subordinate officials was not always so entirely above suspicion, and the course of justice was too often perverted by a lamentable characteristic of the Oriental mind. Mr. Rudyard Kipling goes so far as to assert that in India "you can buy a murder charge, including the corpse all complete, for fifty rupees." This may be one of his humourous exaggerations. But he is strictly accurate in asserting that, "when a native begins perjury, he perjures himself thoroughly; he does not boggle over details. Perhaps the least satisfactory of the Government Departments was the Police." A writer observes, "it is difficult to imagine how a department can be more corrupt." This, too, may be an over-statement. But, taken on the whole, the rank and file of the Indian police were probably not of higher integrity and character than those of New York. Even today we find that the police fabricate a case of murder when the so-called murdered are found alive.

The currency was silver one, and the accounts of the Government of India were so rendered as to show the revenue and expenditure under each head in tens of rupees, for which the symbal Rs. was used. It had come down to us from the days when ten rupees were equivalent to one pound sterling. One hundred thousand rupees were called a lakh, (and hundred lakhs made a crore). Unfortunately the exchange value of the rupee was greatly depreciated. It had sunk to sixteen pence—whence financial difficulties and problems too far reaching and intricate to be discussed here. One result of them was the appointment of a Royal Commission, which recommended a gold currency for India. Soverigns became a legal tender in our country, and were exchangeable with rupee at the rate of one sovereign for fifteen rupees and the accounts of the Government of India were drawn up so as to show the total revenue and expenditure under each head in pounds. It should be noted that at least one third of the annual net revenue was withdrawn from India. This constant depletion was a more serious matter. Far too large to be discussed here, but ever to be kept in mind when considering the improverishment of India. Was it not a betrayal of our poor people? It was certainly a great betrayal of India at the hands of the British Rulers who are surely responsible for India's Poverty.

The main source of Indian revenue, was the land tax, and the collection of this tax was one of the chief duties of Indian administration. The accepted theory may be roughly stated as being that the Government was the lord paramount, or overlord, of the land and was entitled to a certain share of the produce. The permanently settled tracts comprised the greater part of Bengal, about one-third of the North-west provinces. Of the temporaily settled tracts, the North-western Provinces, the Punjab, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and Orissa mainly contained estates held by proprietary brotherhoods or large proprietors; while in Bombay, Burma, Assam, and Behar, and in the greater part of Madras, the land was held and tilled by petty proprietors.

In different parts of India, different systems of land tenure prevailed. The *Zamindari* system of Bengal under the Premanent Settlement was effected by lord Cornwellis in 1793. The term *Zamindar* was orginally applied to hereditary Hindu chieftains who exercised a more or less ample jurisdiction, civil and criminal, in their territories, and paid the reveune assessed upon their lands to the officers of the Mohammadan Government, but farmers of revenue were also described by the same title. The Permannent Settlement aimed at creating in India a body of land holders something like the landed gentry of England, and conferred on the *Zamindar* the status of a proprietor holding his land subject to a fixed amount of quit rent. It was the first of a long series of well-intentioned but ill conceived attempts to transport English institutions into a soil utterly unsuited to them. Sir Henry Maine is not the least weighty amoung the many weighty authorities who condemn it. "That unlucky experiment", he calls it "A province like Bengal proper", he adds "where the village system had fallen to pieces of itself, was the proper field for the creation of a peasant proprietary, but Lord Cornwallis turned it into a country of great estates, and was compelled to take his landlords from the taxgatherers of his worthless predecessors. The *Zamindars*, of Lower Bengal have the worst reputation as landlords, and appear to have deserved it." It may be noted that by a series of Acts, beginning with Lord Danning's in 1859, the Bengal *Zamindars* were restrained from undully enhancing the rents of their cultivaters.

The *Ryotwari* settlement obtained in four-fifths of the Madras Presidency the remaining fifth consisting of *Zamindari* estates. Its introduction there was due to the strong convictions and great influence of Sir Thomas Munto, one of the wisest, and most successful of Indian statesmen. Under it the *Ryot*, or actual cultivator was holding direct from the Government, subject to the payment of his assessment, which was fixed for a term of generally, thirty years. The Bombay *Ryotwari* system was essentially similar, to that of Madaas, though differing from it in some important details. In Oudh the settlement was with certain territorial magnates called *Talukdars*, who corresponded much more nearly than the Bengal *Zamindars* with English landlords. Each of them was responsible for a gross sum in respect of the estate which the State recognised as being, in some stronger or weaker sense, his property. This was known as the *Talukdari* system in the North West and the Punjab, where the ancient village community survived more completely than in other parts of India, the *Mahalwari* system prevailed. The *Mahal*, or village, was there the unit of land administration. And so it was in the central provinces, where the leading man in each village or estate was recognised as proprietor under the title of *Malguazar*, and the settlement was made with him. But over a large proportion of his tenants he had no power of enhancement or interference. This was a distinctive feature of the *Malguzari* settlement. There were also in the Central Pronvinces a number of feudatory chiefs who paid a light tribute.

The salt-tax was a great source of income. It was paid, though lightly, by every inhabitant of India. Was it not a shame for the British-to charge this tax? Mahatma Gandhi thought of it in 1930. Hence his famous "Dandi March" and his civil disobedience. He ordered his countrymen to break law by manufacturing their own salt. In the following words Sir Henry Brackenbury expresses the British relation with India:

"If we desire to maintain British rule in India only for Indians sake, than I think it would be fair to make India pay, to the uttermost farthing, everything that it could be shown was due to Britiain's rule over India. But I cannot but feel that England's interest, or Britain's interest, in keeping India under British rule is enormous. India affords employment to thousands of Britons; India employs millions of English capital; and Indian Commerce has been of immense value to Great Britain. Therefore, it seems to me that India, being held by Great Britain, only for India's sake but for Grean Britain's sake, the latter should pay a share of the expenditure for this purpose."

The United Kingdom never paid a share of the expenditure of the Indian Empire. On the other hand tons of Indian gold was taken away by the British Rulers of India to London. This was nothing but betrayal of India.

"There has never been" wrote De Tocqueville, "anything so extraordinary under the sun as the conquest, and still more the government of India, by the English; nothing which, from all points of the globe, so much attracts the eyes of mankind to that little island whose very name was to the Greeks unknown. I think that the English are obeying an instinct which is not only heroical, but true, and a real motive of conservation, in their resolution to keep India at any cost." To keep India in subjugation was a betrayal of the dirtiest type. Betrayal of India is clear from the words of William Samuel Lilly who writes thus:

"There are grave blemishes on the British Raj. One of them is that it does not appeal to the imagination of the people of India. The Government with which they have to do is an abstraction, and leaves them cold. The Emperor—a great name and name to conjure with might as well be living in cloudland, among the Himalayan gods. Better, indeed, for so he would be nearer to them. Certain it is that here the British Raj is at a disadvantage compared with the native princes whose yoke is far heavier upon their subjects. They are a real present deities to their people even although they should more resemble devils, as to be sure, the Hindu gods for the most part do. And alien as they sometimes are from the great mass of their subjects in race, religion, and language, the mere sight of them seldom fails to evoke expressions of loyalty, which are as sincere as enthusiatic. But the Government is a mere machine, and who can be loyal to a machine—specially a taxing machine? The collector, who is its visible embodiment, is not, as a rule, a picturesque person, and does not fire the vivid Oriental imagination. We must say the same of the

Commissioner. Even the Governor, nay, the Viceroy himself, is a poor pageant compared with the native prince, who, resplendent with gold and precious stones, appears on his elephant, bedecked with gorgeous trimmings, in his silver *howdah*, and escorted by his kinsmen and retainers on their gaily caparisoned horses, rides through the narrow streets of his capital, while women and children rush forth to gaze, delighted, upon the brave show, and every man, putting one hand on the ground in token of fealty, shouts, "*Maharaja, Ram, Ram.*"

Maharajas in India were know for their atrocities. They used to commit crimes of adultery and murder against their subjects.

On May 5, 1930, His Highness Maharaja Bhupendra Singh addressed the following letter to the Viceroy:

"Your Excellency is no doubt aware that for some time past a certain section of the press has, on a persistent agitation against me, casting grave reflections on my character and honour as a ruler and a man.

"If I have refrained from taking any action, It was partly because I felt that the wild character of the accusations against me couched in the vilest language, carried their own refutation in the eyes of all responsible persons.

"The position has, however, changed materially since the publication of a pamphlet called. *An Indictment of Patiala* over the signatures of certain gentlemen who conducted an enquiry of Lahore and elsewhere in British India wholly exparte and practically endorsed comments that had appeared against me in certain newspapers.

"I can, therefore, no longer ignore these accusations and I owe it to myself that I must voluntarily ask for a thorough, searching and independent enquiry into the allegations against me, formulated in twelve counts in that pamphlet.

"From the moment this pamphlet was brought to my notice, I have been most anxious to vindicate my honour. I have lost no time in ordering the collection of all documentary evidence and its being placed in the hands of my legal advisers. This has naturally taken some time. I am now in a position to make a definite request to you, in writing, that you may be pleased to order an enquiry."

This was followed by an extraordinary suggestion:

"Should Your Excellency, in view of all the circumstances of the case and the urgency of the matter, decide to entrust the enquiry to Hon'ble the Agent to the Government-General Punjab States, I shall agree to such a course."

On May, 3, the Goverment of India issued a communique to the press, reproducing the Maharaja's letter.

His Excellency has, accordingly, entrused the Hon'ble Mr. J.A.O. Fitzpatrick, A.G.G. Punjab States, with the making of a full enquiry into all the charges contained in the recent publication, *An Indictment of Patiala*. He will conduct the enquiry *in camera* at such place and time as may be appointed by him and will have full power to adjust and arrange hearing, methods of procedure, etc.

The Fitzpatrick Enquiry, accordingly, proceeded. The proceedings were held partly at Dalhousie and partly in Patiala. The Maharaja was repressented by eminent counsel headed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir G.P. Ramaswamy Iyer. The evidence was organised and placed before the enquiry by the Prime Minister, Sir Liaqat Hayat Khan.

On August, 4, 1930 the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India issued a communique:

"His Excellency the Governor-General issued a communique on May 9, 1930 to the effect that he had entrusted to Hon'ble Mr. J.A.O· Fitzpatrick, A.G.G. in the Punjab States, with the making of a full enquiry into all the charges contained in the publication *An Indictment of Patiala*. Mr. Fitzpatrick, in conformity with the instructions issued to him, duly conducted an enquiry. Since the authors of the publication refused to appear before him, it was not possible to sucject their statements to test of corss-examination but in the course of the proceedings Mr. Fitzpatrick recorded statements of 145 witnesses and examined 630 documentary exhibits. He has now submitted his report to the Government of India, and, as a result, the Government of India have satisfied themselves that the evidence fails to substantiate any of the charges against His Highness the Maharaja in the publication 'An Indictment of Patiala' which are shown to have been the outcome of a deliberate conspiracy between certain individuals and public bodies, with the object of defaming His Highness and lowering him in the eyes of his subjects and of the Goverment of India."

The Government of India did not see fit to publish the Fitzpatrick Report. The conclusions of the Committee relating to the Lall Singh murder were largely based upon the High Court Judgement convicting Ghandur Sing and Nanak Singh, a draft divorce deed in the handwriting of Daya Kishen Kaul, and the orders of His Highness relating to the principal murderer, Ghandur Singh and his property. It was thus difficult to see how it could be said that the charges were outcome of a "deliberate conspiracy".

On the death of his first wife, Lall Singh who was a Commissioned Officer married Dalip Kaur, to all accounts a ravishingly attractive woman. Maharaja Bhupendra Singh was in Simla, when Lall Singh arrived fresh from his bridal conquest. The Maharaja was able to receive the bride in his private apartments. So pleased was he with the response that he received that she was constantly invited to encore the visit.

The Simla season of 1912 thus passed very happily and so did the following winter at Patiala.

The Sangrur Maharani at first took little notice of the Maharaja's interest in Dalip Kaur, under the impression that like many others she would come and go out of the Palace. But when the Maharaja's interest in the lady appeared to persist longer than usual, the wheels of intrigue went into motion. For a time Dalip Kaur had to go back to her husband.

The Maharaja, however could not suffer the absence of Dalip Kaur for long. Her beauty and her body had become the grand passion of his life. Both the Maharani and Lall Singh were persuaded to allow Dalip to return to the Palace.

Thus Dalip Kaur returned to the Court, and stayed. She bore the Maharaja two daughters.

In January, 1915, there was new trouble in the Palace. Dalip Kaur, it was alleged, had told the Maharaja of the taunts she had to bear from the Maharani, who (it was alleged to him) had said that Dalip Kaur might live in the Royal Palace as long as she liked but she could not under any circumstances, become a Maharani.

On hearing this the Maharaja was annoyed. His power to create as many Maharanies as he willed had been questioned. The matter now called for his immediate and energetic attention. From this time onward vigorous efforts were made to clear the path for Dalip Kaur to attain royal status.

Sardar Nanak Singh, Senior Suprintedent of Police, Patiala, recorded the following note, which was later produced at the trial of Nanak Singh and others for the murder of Lall Singh.

The Maharaja mentioned this matter to Dewan Daya Kishen Kaul (then Prime minister) who welcomed it as a Godsend opportunity because it gave him a convenient handle by which he could always keep the Maharaja in his hands. First of all, he (the Dewan) managed to send S. Gurnam Singh to the battle field, and when he had gone, he called S. Lall Singh and asked him to divorce his wife, but Lall Singh asked Dewan Sahib, if next day the Maharaja fell in love with his (Dewan's) wife, would he agree to divorce his wife? The Dewan Sahib could not say anything. When all attempts failed to get a divorce from Lall Singh, the Maharaja thought there was no other course but to marry her.

Accordingly, a marriage ceremony was performed, and thus without getting a divorce and without the tacit consent of Lall Singh, Dalip Kaur, his wife, was made a Maharani.

Lall Singh threatened Maharaja Bhupendra Singh to get his wife back with the help of the British Government.

Faced with the danger of a scandal of the first magnitude and wrath with Lall Singh, the Maharaja allowed his mind to wander for solutions of these problems.

According to Nanak Singh, then superintendent of Police, Patiala, the Maharaja took him into his confidence. Nanak Tingh records thus:

"After two hours' conversation, the Maharaja disclosed his real object and said that so long as Lall Singh was living there could be no peace for him. I was stunned to hear this from his lips. After two or there minutes he once more uttered the same words and asked me the reason of my silence. I replied that since he was a great Chief he should not take it so lightly. There were serious dangers in this course.

"His Highness, however, insisted that I should make arrangement to clear the way by disposing of Lall Singh. At first hesitated—then consented and assured the Maharaja that I would do my best to achieve the object. As soon as I said this, he at once sent for his cheque book and gave me a cheque for Rs. 7,000 on the Ambala Cantonment Branch of the Alliance Bank of Simla. I returned from Mussoorie and got it cashed from the Bank."

According to Nanak Singh's version of what later transpired, the Maharaja also directed him to proceed to Dhuri and get an application from one Ghandur Singh, an exile from patiala, to be permitted to return to the State. "The Maharaja", told him that "Lall Singh and Gandhur Singh were very fast friends and that Ghandur singh would be able to persuade Lall Singh to divorce his wife." Ghandur Singh accordingly, returned to Patiala.

Soon after this, the Maharaja departed for Europe to attend a War Conference.

According to facts elicited later at the trial, Ghandur Singh told Lall Singh that it was through the help of the British Government that he had got permission to reside in Patiala otherwise the Maharaja would not have allowed him to enter the State, and that Lall Singh, if he wished, could get his wife through the British Government. Lall Singh naturally welcomed the suggestion.

As Lall Singh was thus busy trying to procure the return of Dalip Kaur, the time came for the murder of Lall Singh.

On the evening of March 28, 1919 as about 9 P.M.' Ghandur Singh spoke to Lall Singh on the telephone.

Ghandur Singh asked Lall Singh where they could talk in private, Lall Singh suggested the garden of Gurnam Singh where they could talk freely.

In the garden, screened by its ample foliage, as dust fell, Lall Singh met his end. Lall Singh was thrown down and an effort was made to strangle him; he shook off his assailants. Ghandur Singh settled the matter by emptying four bullets into him, two into his chest and two into his head. During the night, the body of Lall Singh was taken towards the village of Kadar and burnt on the way.

The Maharaja, celebrated the occasion by distributing an ample sum among his A.D.C.'s Dalip Kaur was now a Maharani. A report was made on 30th Har 1975 (Samvat) at 10 A.M. to Sardar Nanak Singh, Superintendent of Police, Patiala, by a servant of Gurnam Singh that Lall Singh was missing. He was directed to the Kotwali to lodge his report.

In due course, the Maharaja returned to India. Though sometime had elapsed, the patiala Police had not officially solved the mystery of Lall Singh's disappearance, and Nanak Shingh, Ghandur Singh and others were still at large.

The investigation of the crime proceeded under the directions of Tara Chand, Inspector General of the Patiala Police. Not that things were not known, but the record had to be completed.

Nanak Singh, no doubt, realising that he might be thrown to the wolves or even murdered, wenl to Gujarkhan, in British India, with his family. He than returned to Patiala to face the music. At Gujarkhan he left in his wife's care one of the most amazing confessions ever written:

"If the case is started in my lifetime, I shall state the facts plainly, and thus will satisfy my conscience, but if as I think, I die immediately and the case is started after that, it is possible that certain innocent persons may be punished. I have therefore recorded these facts and am leaving them in a sealed envelope with my wife, with the clear instructions that during my life she will not open it without my orders, nor will she give it to anybody else. She will treat these papers more, sacred then her life. In case I die, and if no case is started for two years this envelope should be burnt unopened. If the case is started, the envelope should be opened. If the case is in accordance with the facts, no interference is called for, let justice take its course. But otherwise if any innocent persons are accused of murder, my wife is autlorised to produce this writing in the court and thus save innocent persons."

In the course of the confession, Nanak Singh set out in detail the entire episode commencing with the marriage of Dalip Kaur to Lall Singh and ending with the incidents subsequent to the murder of Lall Singh. The document was dated 13th Asuj., 1975 (Samvat) and purported to have been written at Gujratkhan. It ended with these significant conclusions :

Cause of the Murder: Maharaja Bhupendra Singh made Dalip Kaur his Maharani. Murderers—S. Ghandur Singh and Harnam Singh. Conspiracy for Murder—The plot for murder began with the Maharaja in this conspiracy because during our conversations the Maharaja used to go in her private room to inform and consult her. I have stated the true facts without fear or favour and in doing so, I have not omitted my own share in the crime, for which I am always praying to God for pardon. May the mercy of Akalpurkh take pity on me and forgive my sins.

Lall Singh's disappearance was investigated by the Imperial Police, a trial was inevitable. Ghandur Singh, Nanak Singh and their accomplices faced a murder charge. In the course of the trial, Nanak Singh proudced his police diary which clearly implicated the Maharaja in the crime. The court could take little notice of it but its embarassment was apparent. The case resulted in the conviction of both Ghandur Singh and Nanak Singh for the murder of Lall Singh.

Patiala High Court, found the following interesting facts established: (1) That Lall Singh's wife was in the palace, (2) That Nanak Singh and Ghandur Singh, both the murderers attempted to get a deed of divorce signed from Lall Singh; (3) that Lall Singh was murdered by Ghandur Singh and others; (4) that the murder was for "selfish end".

The Court depreciated the attempt of the accused to involve "highly placed persons."

The judgement created a local stir, Dalip Kaur, resided in the palace and ruled the destinies of Patiala. Ghandur had been forgiven and pardoned.

But Nanak Singh continued to serve his sentence.

In May, 1929, the ghost of Lall Singh returned once more to torment the Maharaja.

At a meeting of the Indian State Peoples' Conference, copies of a memorandum which had been submitted to the Viceroy by ten citizens of Patiala were circulated.

A non-official committee recorded the statements of many witnesses and documents. They found a *prime facie* case against Maharaja Bhupendra Singh.

The proceedings and evidence upon which the conclusions of Patiala Enquiry Committee were based were published in a remarkable document entitled *An Indictment of Patiala*, after having on February 5,1930 been submitted to the Working Committee of the Indian States People's Conference.

The Committee asked for a proper trial of matters at stake.

An Indictment of Patiala, could not be ignored. The Maharaja consulted his lawyers and fought the case against him very bravely.

An Indictment af Patiala was perhaps a baseless libel. It was the means of putting a lot of money in the pockets of many people, lawyers, procurers and the State Police made fabulous sums.

Above all, the Maharaja was acquitted.

Maharaja Bhupendra Singh had long been known as an intelligent man, with an ability well above others of the exalted class. Physically he was a giant. He had the distinction of possessing the largest fleet of Rolls Royce cars in the world; his Kennels were the envy of his neighbours.

At the outbreak of the First World war, the Maharaja placed the major resources of his State at the service of the Empire in Khaki and diamond earings. He saw service on several fronts. As member of the Imperial War Cabinet., he received high distinctions from Allied Governments, receiving the Grand Cotton of the Order of Leopold; the Crown of Italy, the Order of the Nile; the Crown of Rumania; as also the Grand Crosses of the Order of St. Saviour of Greece and the Legion Honour of France. His distinguished services for the Empire did not pass without recognition—G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., were some of the honours he received.

But did the Fitzpatrick Enquiry settle the question whether the Maharaja was privy to the murder of Lall Singh?

The ghost of Lall Singh alone can decide this question.

Let us ponder over how Lall Singh's ghost tormented the Maharaja of Patiala who was the very Fountain of Royal Adultery?

No doubt the Maharaja of Patiala was acquitted under the report of the Fitzpatrick Enquiry, but we cannot forget the unpardonable betrayal of his own people. Lall Singh was a faithful servant. Dalip Kaur was Lall Singh's legally wedded wife. The Maharaja who forced Dalip Kaur to be his Maharani was decidedly a Robber of Beuties. As a rule he was not expected to be a brute to the beauties of his domains. There were many Maharajas in India who betrayed their people like Bhupendra Singh.

In his book *India Past and Present*, William Samuel Lilly wrote in 1901 "We carry with us our institutions, our customs, our prejudicesnay, as far as possible, our environment. And we suppose these things to constitute the proper form for the whole human race. Our chief aspiration—conscious or unconscious—is to Anglicise. We build railways, make canals, and construct harbours in India; we develop its commercial and industrial resources, we endow it, as far as we can, with national laws and just administration. To what end? To transform it, as far as possible, into our own image and likeness, to suppress its castes, to throw open its zenanas, to teach it English literature, cricket, and football, to put its men into trousers, and its women into petticoats, and, perhaps, to convert it to some form or froms of British Christianity."

The real intention of the Britishers is very much clear from this passage. They never wanted to show Indian literature to the world. They did not like to promote Indian culture. They desired to see India in European shape. Their main aim was to spread Christianity in India. They intended to Anglicise India.

From what William Samuel Lilly has said it can well be said that most of the British Officers like him were more or less intersted in converting the Hindus to Christianity. Was it not a betrayal of India? Surely it was. Sir William Lee Warner enthusiastically declares: "There is no direction in which British enterprise and capital are not pushing their way in order to extend the manufactures of India, and thus to open up to its vast population new trades and industries. The trade returns of Indian commerce, as well as the census figures of 'occupation or means of subsistence', show plainly the magnitude of the revolution in the industrial life of India which is taking place. All this actively means new sources of income to the working men of India and profitable openings for its trademen and capitalists. The fact is too easily foregotten, and for centuries the country has had at its command coal, gold, petrolium, tea, coffee, and cotton, and yet it was unable to turn its wealth to account. Why was this the case? The country needed peace, enterprise and capital which it never secured until it fell under British administration. Is Mr. Warner Right? Let us answer this question in small sentence. Not to speak of aeroplanes and Railway Engines or automobiles, India could not manufacture needles during the British Rule.

A few words must be said as to the great cities which British rule has called into existence in India. First in order comes Calcutta, in 1700 a mere collection of huts; now a city of palaces, its rivers and docks crowded with craft of all nations, its broad streets and spacious squares full of busy crowds, hurrying to and from its offices and shops as it lies in the bright sunlight, white and radiant—one of the great markets of the world. Truly, indeed it is but a whited sepulchre, standing, as it does, in a pestiferious marsh, and enveloped by an atmosphere like a perpetual vapour bath, fatal both to mental and physical vigour. All the greater, perhaps we may say, should be our admiration of the courage and enterprise which have made it what it is.

Bombay, with its huge docks, its splendid, and incongruous buildings, its vast public works, is a magnificent memorial of English rule. In the commercial advantages of its position, as in beauty of scenery, it is unsurpassed by any of the cities of the East. It serves as a splendid gate of entrance to India. It is the most cosmopolitan of cities. Some forty odd languages may be heard in its bazaars where Europeans, Arabs, Persians, Afghans, Negroes, Parsis, Jews, and Chinese jostle with one another. It is a medley of all the religions, all the races, all the architecture, all the industries of the world.

The other great city of India is Madras. If it cannot rival the splendour of Calcutta and Bombay—which it certainly cannot, at all events greatly excels them in comfort. Its roomy houses, surrounded by spacious lawns (compounds, as they are called) in its suburbs of Numgumbaukum and the Adyar, provide the space and air. Its dry heat is tempered by the perennial sea breeze of the evening.

Such are some of the more striking items of the progress achieved by India under British rule. Unquestionably they are tokens of prosperity. But of whose prosperity? Of the prosperity of the people of India? The test of a people's prosperity is not the extension of exports, the multiplication of manufactures or other industries, the construction of cities. No, a prosperous country is one in which the great mass of the inhabitants are able to procure, with moderate toil, what is necessary for living human lives, lives of frugal and assured comfort. Judged by this criterion, can India be called prosperous?

Comfort, of course, is a relative term. It cannot be measured by an absolute standard. In a tropical country, like India, the standard is very low. Little clothing is required there. Simple diet suffices. Artificial wants are very few, and, for the most part, are not costly. India is a peasant's population. Eighty percent of the people live by the land. An unfailing well of water, a plot of land and a bit of the orchard that will satisfy his heart's desire, if indeed, you add the cattle needful to him, the *Ryot's* children, as they are called in many parts. Such is *Ryot's* ideal. Very few realise it. An acre may stand for the *modus agri*, the necessary plot of land. A man to an acre, or 640 men to the square mile, is the utmost density of population which India can comfortably support, except near towns or in irrigated districts. But millions of peasants in India are struggling to live on half an acre. Their existence is a constant battle with starvation, ending, too often, in defeat. The difficulty is not to live human lives up to the level of their poor standard of comfort but to live at all and not die. People in England very generally talk of rice as the staple food of the natives of India. But in truth rice is the staple food of only one of third of the population. The rest lives on a coarse kind of pulse and millet. And the water drunk by them is, as a rule, detestable, and is the fruitful source of disease. There is, I suppose, no country in the world where the live stock is so wretched. Speaking generally, it may be said that during two-thirds of the year the cattle are kept just above starvation point—not, let me add, through the fault of the owner, who, as a rule, is merciful to his beasts. The native plough is of the roughest description and penetrates but a little way into the soil. It costs the *ryot* 80 or 90 rupees. He could not afford anything better, and probably would not buy it if he could. For his habit of mind is intensely conservative.

Such is rural life in India for vast numbers. And it is by no means superfluous to insist on this truth. The popular conception of the wealth of the "gorgeous East" is singularly deep-rooted, nor are there wanting grave authors whose authority seems to have sanctioned the common misconception regarding the riches of India. Thus, so careful and exact a writer as Elphinstone remarks that "the fertile soil and rich productions of India have been long proverbial", without any indication of the great limitations which should be placed upon the proverb to which he refers. It is true, indeed, the productions of India are rich, but it is only a small portion of the total area of her soil which can be pronounced to be fertile. Taking the country as a whole, we find vast pockets of poverty, land, producing either nothing, or the most scanty. Luxuriant vegetation popularly associated with the tropics is met with only in "the flowery lap of some irriguous valley." The greater part of the agriculture of the country is dependent upon the periodical rains, and their failure for even one year is enough for widespread misery, while a recurrence of the misfortune is the next, raises the popular suffering to the most frightful pitch. What is the fun if we talk of dams and dams. Damn the idea of dam if we cannot condemn our poverty.

We may truly say that in India, except in the irrigated tracts, famine is chronic endemic, It always has been. A Mohammedan historian, describing the drought which ravaged the Deccan 330 years ago, tells us, "Thousands of people migrated and may perished before they reached more favoured provinces, vast numbers died at home, whole districts were depopulared, and some had not recovered at the end of forty years." Such events were constantly recurring in the annals of the country. The Muslim Kings betrayed their subjects who went on starving for hundreds of years.

During the first eight years of the nineteenth century, 18,000,000 of people perished of famine. In one year alone, the year in which Her Majesty Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress 5,000,000 of the people in Southern India were starved to death. In the district of Bellary a region twice the size of Wales, one forth of the population perished in the famine of 1876-1877, Fie upon the British Rulers of India. A British historian writes thus: "I never shall forget my own famine experience; how as I rode out on horseback, morning after morning I passed crowds of wandering skeletons, and saw human corpses lying by the roadside, uncared half-devoured by dogs and vultures; how sadder sight still, children, the joy of the world as the old Greeks deemed, had become its ineffable sorrow, were forsaken by the very women who had borne them, wolfish hunger killing even the maternal instinct, forsaken instinct. Those children, their bright eyes shining from hollow sockets, their flesh utterly wasted away and only gristle and sinew and cold shrivelled skin reminding, their heads mere skulls, their puny frames full of loathsome diseases, engendered by the starvation in which they had been conceived, and born, and natured—they haunt me still." Famine slayed thousands and hundreds of thousands people in British India. The British Government could not interfere to prevent mortality caused by disease, springing from, or greatly helped by inanition. The Britishers did not deserve to be rulers. And here I shall like to quote an extract from Lord Curzon's letter to the Lord Mayor of London concerning a cruel famine of the year 1900. The words in Lord Curzon's letter show that India was betrayed by the British people. Lord Curzon's letter is dated 23rd May, 1939 and it reads thus:

"We are struggling with a famine greater in its intensity over the areas afflicted than any previously recorded visitation. I say greater, because, though few persons will, as I hope, die in this famine than in any previous droughts, yet incomparably more persons are suffering, and are only being saved from death by the combined exertions of Government and of private effort, and because the loss of crops and cattle, amounting to an almost complete denudation of the striken area, are immeasurably greater in the present instance than in any previously recorded affliction ... In the middle of May 1897, an area of 205,000 square miles, with a population of 40,000,000 persons, was affected. In the middle of May 1900, the figures are 417,000 square miles for nearly one-fourth of the entire extent of the Indian Empire, and 54,000,000 persons. In May 1897, 3,81,000 persons were in receipt of Government relief; in May 1900, the total relieved is 5,607,000. At the present moment, if we take the whole of the afflicted regions in British India, 15 per cent of the entire population are being supported by Government (in many parts the proportion is nearly double)."

Is this the picture of a nation looked after properly by its Rulers? Is there, then, any remedy for this widespread and ever-recurring suffering, arising from the abject poverty of a vast proportion of India's population? The first step towards answering the question is to ascertain the causes of that poverty. The one main cause of the constant depletion of India was the withdrawal of one-third of her revenue towards the treasures of England. The greatest cause of India's poverty is the betrayal of the British Rulers who never wanted Indians to be prosperous and flourishing. The economic crises in India was the cause of the people's betrayal towards their neighbours and relatives. The most obvious cause is, of course, the failure of the crops when the periodical rains on which we depend does not fall. Another is the great explosion of the population of the soil. I would call special attention to these last words for as Sir William Hunter has pointed out, "there is plenty of land in India for the whole population, what is required is not the diminution of the people, but their more equal distribution. India is over-populated. The population is largely or rapidly increasing."

The main cause of the people's penury is the perpetual indebtedness to the usurer. Customs, the great guide of his life, demand lavish expenditure at marriages and funerals. Out of many causes of the peoples' penury one is drinking wine. The second is addiction to those drugs which the youths of today are addicted too. The third cause of poverty is spending beyond one's income. We need not go into the question of remediability of these causes. If the monsoons fail in India, the farmers become poorer and poorer. If the floods come, they become the poorest of all and even a great flood relief from the best organisation of the country cannot help them. There is a considerable volume of water in Indian rivers. Even during the driest season and during the monsoon freshes there is an enormous quantity of water therein and here I have to quote some weighty words from a valuable paper contributed by General Frederick Cotton to *Blackwood's Magazine.*

"We have an example set up by some engineer of former ages, which is much to the point, of what is wanted at the present day. Quite in the south of the peninsula there is a river—the Viga, if I remember right—the water of which was so admirably utilised that only in exceptional years did a drop of it reach the sea. The river was dammed here and there, and the channels leading the water off for irrigation had tanks to store water for the perfecting of the crop after the freshes ended which is exactly the principle on which the great rivers should be treated as far as possible. There has been an idea of late that if water is to be stored it will be necessary to find sites for enormous lakes in which to collect it. It is true that the larger the reservoirs are, the cheaper the cost of storing water will be. But if the value of the water is what I hope I have proved it to be, that is not the first consideration. To explain how sites may be found everywhere, I would ask my readers to look at the Trignometrical Survey map of the peninsula of India, where they will find that almost any shallow valley is made by an embankment across it into a retaining reservoir. These tanks, so-called, being dependent upon the local rains, are valueless in seasons of drought, and in consequence do nothing to secure the peninsula from famine. This would not be the case if a stream, led from a never-failing river, ran through the country to supply them. Indeed our great hydraulic engineer, Sir Arthur Cotton, had a scheme for making such an artificial river to secure the supply of these tanks. But I only call attention to the possibility to show that, as every part of India has its valleys, there is no good reason why water should not be stored on the old native river Viga system in all parts of the country."

I will cite another professional writer, who appears to me well to merit serious attention. In a very striking article in *The Indian Review* of June 1900, Mr. Alfred Chatterton writes as follows:

"The storage of water is likely to become the great Indian engineering problem, and attention will doubtless be paid to that portion of the rainfall which is absorbed by the earth and disappears from sight to find its way by deep and tortuous subterranean passages to the sea. Two and one-half million wells irrigating fully ten million acres of land attest the importance of the underground storage of water, and indicate that in this direction there are immense possibilties. Underground water has never, in India, been studied properly by engineers or geologists, and wells are sunk in a happy-go-lucky manner to a haphazard depth. They are constructed with primitive appliances and at small cost. Expectations are not usually great, and as they are generally realised the people are content. Some wells dry up in the hot weather, some wells always respond to the demands that are made upon them, and nothings is really known about their capacity to supply water. A few elementary calculations, however, will show that the quantity of water drawn from most wells is but an insignificant fraction of the stores that must be below, and which are continuously passing away through permeable strata till they ultimately reach the sea ... Very few wells exist which are known to yield enough water to offer any inducement to employ mechanical arrangements for pumping water from them. It is easy to see why this is so. The depth of the well is limited by the fact that the primititive methods of sinking in vogue among the *Ryots* prevent them going more than a few feet below the hot weather level of the water. With an engine and pump to keep the well dry much greater depths might be attained, and possibly the supply of water enormously increased... It is sufficienty demonstrated that the employment of oil engines for pumping water is a perfectly practical method, and can be employed with advantage whenever the quantity of water to be dealt with amounts to half a cubic per square. The initial capital outlay is beyond the means of the ordinary *Ryot*, but it is not beyond those of many landowners, and if only sufficient interest could be aroused among them in the improvement of their estates, the ultimate benefit to the country at large would be incalculable.

"The two and one-half million wells in India reapresent a capital outlay not far short of forty crores of rupees, and what is wanted almost as much as new wells is the systematic improvement of those already in existence. Many are probably far too shallow and others are too small and do not present a sufficient area for percolation. The jump holes from 10 to 30 feat in depth and a few inches in diameter at the bottom of some wells is not a very difficult matter, and the value of the tube would probably be greatly enhanced if the rock at the bottom were loosened by the explosion of two or three small charges of dynamite. To run short adits in the hot weather from the bottoms of many wells is perfectly feasible, and both methods if tried would yield results are in excess of the cost. Yet these things are not done because the *Ryots* do not know of their values; and even if they did, they would regard them with suspicion as innovations to be classed with many other attempts, by Europeans, as agricultural improvements. These are suggestions which have been tried in other places with success; but so little do we know about this subject, that I put them forward with diffidence, and simply with a view to drawing attention to the urgent necessity for a systematic attempt to investigate the conditions under which the stores of subterranean water exist."

This must suffice as to the means of improving the water supply of India, and so, of increasing the production of its foodstuffs. The next question is how to remedy those evils tending to the *Ryot's* penury. And in order to indicate what those sounders views are I will here quote a page, in which Mr. Lilly has endeavoured to expound them, from his *First Principles in Politics*.

"Conspicuous among agreements against public policy should be reckoned those tainted by usury; although in these, for the most part, there is not that free consent which is of the essence of a contract, overmastering distress having fettered the borrower's volition. Assuredly, it is the function of the State to repress such pacts, not only through its civil courts, but, in gross cases, through its criminal tribunals. The essence of usury is extortion. It is extortion under colour of law, which is, from an ethical point of view, more heinous, in itself, than extortion by threats or by physical violence. We are sometimes told—we are often told—that the reprobation of usury is wrong, is an exploded medieval superstition. It appears to me that the principle which guided the philosophers and legislators of former ages in this matter is valid for all time, and that Shylock is quite as noxious in the twentieth century as he was in the sixteenth; nay, more noxious, for his abominable operations are conducted upon a much wider scale. True it is that the function of money in this modern world is other than it was in the Middle Ages, where other economical conditions prevailed. In those ages almost all farming or producing had for its object direct use, not sale; rent, in the sense of a competition price paid for the occupation of land, was unknown; the vast developments of commerce and industry now surrounding us, would have appeared the wildest and most fantastic dreams. Money is not now, as it was in earlier periods of civilisation, a mere medium of private exchange for the purposes of housekeeping. It is a medium of commercial exchange and fruitful lending; it is no longer barren, a thing to be hoarded in cellars and chests. In the mercantile society of modern life, commercial credit is an essential factor; and to put money out to interest, in genuine business adventures, is, in itself, not immoral because, in itself, not unfruitful. For what usury really means—this is the definition of the Fourth Lateral Council—is 'the attempt to draw profit and increment, without labour, without cost, and without risk, from the use of thing that does not fructify.' And inspite of the change of circumstances, there can be no question of the vast prevalence of usury, thus understood, in our own day; and as little of its malignancy. Here, assuredly, it is the function of the State to intervene, for the protection of individual rights and of its own supreme right."

Something, I am convinced, may be done, and ought to be done, in mitigation of the people's penury, by further well-considered legislation for delivering them, as completely as possible, from the toils of the usurer, who—this must never be forgotten—should be carefully distinguished from the harmless necessary money-lender. Something may be done, too, to relieve the too great pressure on the soil of the population. Population-wise measures might, and should be adopted and encouraged, for the diversion of a portion of the population now engaged in agriculture, to other means of subsistence. And it is cheering to find that the better educated and more influential natives are alive to the necessity of working for this end. The people of Punjab express their desire "to cure the growing poverty of India by pressing the claims of the development of the material resources of the country, by reviving the old arts and industries of India, encouraging her trade and commerce to be undertaken by educated classes, and teaching the people of India the advantages and principles of co-operation and self-help, by advancing the cause of agriculture and agricultural education, and also by providing the most useful information on political, moral, social and educational subjects.

The right lines upon which to work are here clearly, if rather broadly indicated. As we have seen, something considerable has been accomplished under the Congress Rule for the development of the material resources of India. Her trade and commerce have greatly increased. But is it possible to revive her old arts and industries? There are men still alive who can remember the days when weaving was a prosperous occupation in the country, and millions lived on it. That industry has been destroyed by the deluging of the country with cheap Manchester goods made by machinery, and by the refusal of protection to Indian weavers. But on this subject let us hear Mr. J.N. Bhattacharya, who writes thus in his work on *Hindu Castes and Sects :*

"The weavers of India were, until recently, a very prosperous class, but the importation of machine made piece goods from Manchester has, of late, thrown many thousands of them out of employ. These dragged on a life of poverty for some years, and at last either died of semi-starvation, or were forced by necessity to become menial servants or tillers of the soil. As the handlooms of India are now constructed, the best weaver, with the assistance of his whole family to dress and card the yarn, cannot turn out more than five yards of cloth a day, but the motive power required to work such a loom is very slight, and the machinery might certainly be so improved as to enable one man to work at least half-a-dozen similar looms. It is said by some, that if the weaving industry of India has ceased to be paying in consequence of the competition of foreign piece goods, the Indian weavers should, despite their caste prejudices, take up some other line of business. The principle of Free Trade has been invoked in order to justify our indifference, and that of our Government, to the sufferings brought on the millions of our weavers by the import of Manchester piece goods. But neither the science of Political Economy, nor the principle of Free Trade, requires that when foreign goods make their way into the markets of a country, the people of it should make no efforts to save the sinking vessel of their own industries. The principle of Free Trade insists only upon absolute freedom being left to the consumer to buy his goods from the cheapest and best market according to his own judgment.

"In this country domestic industry alone suits the genius of the people, and, so far as the weaving industry is concerned, it is certainly not desirable, even from the point of view of political economy, that the handlooms should be superseded by steam-power looms. Domestic industry does not involve any expenditure on account of supervision, mill buildings, or brokerage to company promoters. Domestic industry cannot render it necessary to collect raw materials or manufactured goods in one place to such an extent as to involve the risk of any heavy loss by fire, shipwreck, or damp. The skill possessed by a people of a country in any art being, according to the science of political economy, an important part of its capital. India is at present suffering a prodigious loss, through allowing the skill acquired by her weavers by generations of practice to remain unemployed and become deteriorated. A very little improvement in the handlooms might not only enable them yet to hold their own against foreign competition, but save the heavy loss to the Indian people and to the world which now takes place in freight, insurance, warehousing, and other charges incurred unnecessarily for the benefit of Manchester. The weavers of India are themselves too ignorant of the mechanical sciences, and too poor, at present, to make the necessary improvements in their looms, by their own capital and exertions. The matter is one which deserves the earnest attention of our publicists."

I fully agree with Mr. Bhattacharya that this matter well deserves the earnest attention of our publicists. I must commend to my readers Mr. Bhattacharya's weighty remarks on the position of the Indian *Kamars*, or workers in iron:

"If, in spite of their skill, the Indian *Kamars* are not able to hold their own in the local markets, their failure is not to be attributed to any fault on their part. The products of a domestic industry must necessarily be more costly than machine-made wares. Then, again, the out-turn of the small manufactories to be found in the remote villages cannot be so easily collected together, in a commercial focus, for distribution and exchange, as the produce of large foundries. The result of these causes is very strikingly illustrated by the fact that while the worthless padlocks turned out by the factories in Birmingham are to be had in every hardware shop in India, and sell in millions, the *Kamars* padlocks of the ancient types, which are considered by all to be the best and safest mechanisms of the kind, cannot generally be had either for love or money, and can be procured only by special order to some workmen whose very names are generally unknown—the advantages of the modern art of advertisement being as yet quite unknown to them. Circumstanced as India now is, the revival and improvement of the iron industry of the country seems to be wel-nigh beyond the bounds of immediate possibility. It is only the patronage of the railways that can render large foundries pecuniarily successful. But the Indian railways are all practically in the hands of the Indian Government, and knowing well how our rulers are handicapped by the party politics of the Home Government, no reasonable man can expect them to deny their patronage to the English manufacturers for the sake of benefiting an Indian industry."

There can be no question whatever of the great development of machinery in England in the early decades of the 19th century. Free Trade was a second. The native handicrafts, sustained by no capital, relying merely on traditional skill and personal initiative, perished, and hideous manufactured wares took the place of their beautiful products. And the Government, fast bound in the sophisms of the old "orthodox" political economy, with its gospel of *laissez-faire*, did nothing to remedy the evil. It is certain that the neglect of Indian industries was one of the causes of the present distresses of India.

There is a considerable body of the mischievous in the world—chiefly in England and in the United States of Amrica—whose thoughts turn to India as "the most interesting country in the mission-field." They ardently desire its conversion to Christianity, and especially to some form—they do not, as a rule, greatly care what—of Protestantism which is known as Evangelism. Let us endeavour to see how far their desire has beed gratified.

The tradition that one "Thomas" introduced Christianity in India is very ancient. But whether this Thomas was—to quote Gibbon—"an Apostle, a Manichaean, or an Armenian merchant," has been much disputed among the learned. Certain it is, however, that Indian Christianity, so far as we can follow it back in history, presents traces of a special culture of St. Thomas the Apostle. Certain it is also that Christian communities existed in India—on the Malabar coast—in the fifth century and that they than became Nestorians. The Portuguese in the sixteenth century brought these heretical Christians into communion with Rome—the Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamner in 1599 setting the seal to the work. And the Inquisition, established at Goa in 1560, carefully watched over it, displaying, indeed, an amount of fiery zeal which astonished the Western world. But when; in 1663, the capture of Cochin by the Dutch overthrew the Portuguese power on the seaboard of Western India, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch sent a Bishop to Malabar, who received the adhesion of a considerable number of the Christians dwelling in that region; the speculative differences between the jacobites, who deny the two natures in Christ, and the Nestorians, who assert not only two natures but two persons, appearing to them of less account than independence of Rome. That independence they have since maintained. Side by side with these Jacobite Christians, are the Catholics of the Syrian rite in communion with the Holy Seer.

Another body of Indian Christians, who also are spiritual subjects of the Pope, is composed of the descendants of the converts made in the sixteenth century by Catholic missionaries. The rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by the bold navigators of Portugal had rendered India accessible, though the voyage occupied twelve months. And the Franciscans were the first to take advantage of this great change in order to spread the Christian faith. A small company of their friars arrived in the Deccan in 1500, and within a few months, one of them, Father Peter of Covihao, sealed his testimony with his blood. His brcthren continued his work for forty years with a fair measure of success. Then—in 1542—St. Francis Xavier landed at Goa and began his abundant labours. "Besides doing much to re-form the life of the portuguese settlers themselves," observes a recent writer, "he completed the conversion of the Paravas on the fishery coast, founded the Christinity of Ceylon, and converted thousands in the native states of Travancore and Cochin. To this day the lands where he laboured are the most Christian districts in India. His favourite disciples, the poor Parava fishermen, have never lost the faith they received from him, and numbers of them, during the last terrible famines in Southern India, refused to purchase food and life by even a day of simulated apostacy." He may be regarded as the pioneer of the Jesuit missionaries, whose heroic selfdenial, quenchless zeal, and indefatigable activity in spreading Christianity, have never been surpassed. Two of the greatest names among them are those of Robert de Nobile, the founder of the Madura mission, and Beschi, who attained high distinction as a Tamil poet, and who was honoured by the people with the title of Viramamuni, "the heroic devotee." It has ever been the laudable endeavour of the Jesuits, as far as their religion allows, to become all things to all men; and so in India, they were led to recognise and respect many native customs and prejudices, more or less questionable; especially those connected with caste. This, Sir William Hunter opines, "is the secret of the wide and permanent success of the Catholic missions." Anyhow, it was the source of the chief troubles of the Jesuit missionaries—troubles involving disputes which greatly divided them among themselves, and which had to be referred, in the event, for the decision of the Pope. The persecution of the Society of Jesus by the Portuguese Government in 1759, and its suppression fourteen years afterwards by Clement XIV, struck a heavy blow to Catholicism in India. Then came the persecution of Christians by Tippu Sultan in the countries subject to him. In one year (1784) he is said to have compelled some 30,000 Catholics of Canara to embrace Mohammedanism forcibly circumcising them, and deporting them to the country about the Ghats. But in 1814 the Society of Jesus was reestablished, and began anew its missions in India; and various other Catholic agencies have been labouring during the present century for the evangelisation of that country. It is worthy of note that most of the Catholic clergy including several Bishops, are natives.

"The Roman Catholics in India," writes Sir William Hunter, "steadily increase; and, as in former times, the increase is chiefly in the South. . . The Roman Catholics work in India with slender pecuniary resources. The priests of the Propaganda deny themselves the comforts considered necessaries for Europeans in India. They live the frugal and abstemious life of the natives; and their influence reaches deep into the life of the communities among whom they dwell." When Gregory XVI, in 1838, limited the Goanese jurisdiction to the possessions of Portugal, the Indo-Portuguese clergy broke into open schism. At last, in 1886, Leo XIII, concluded a new Concord with Portugal which restricted the Padoado to the ecclesiastical province of Goa, raising the Archbishop of that city to the dignity of Patriarch, but reserved to the King of Portugal a voice in the selection of the Bishops of Bombay, Trichinopoly, and Mangalore—dioceses within the Indian Empire—an arrangement causing much discontent to the British Catholics resident there. While erecting Goa into a Patriarchate, Leo XIII, created seven Archbishopries—Agra, Bombay, Verapoli, Calcutta, Madras, Pondicherry, and Colombo—besides raising all the existing Indian Vicariates Apostolic, and the Prefecture Apostolic of Bengal, to the rank of Episcopal sees. This may seem a very liberal hierachical provision indeed, for some two millions of Catholics. But doubtless the Pope had in consideration the future as much as the present.

The first Protestant missionaries came to India at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and appear to have been Danish Lutherans. At all events they were under the patronage of the King of Demark, though they were but coldly received by the local Danish authorities in India. Funds from Denmark failed them in a few years; and they were then taken into the pay of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, English Protestant missionaries not being at that time forthcoming. It was the same society that in 1750 sent out the famous Sichwartz, also a Lutheran, who became the founder of the Protestant Tinnevelli missions. Towards the end of the century the Baptist missionaries, Carey, Marshman, and Ward made their apperance. They busied themselves much, as their Lutheran predecessors had done, with translations of the Bible into the Indian vernaculars. In 1814 the first Protestant Bishoprie in India was established at Calcutta. In 1814 the Church Missionary Society sent out a few clergy and in 1820 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had been at work in the country for some years, appointed Dr. Mill Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. At the present time there are some thirty-five Protestant sects labouring for the conversion of India to their various forms of Christionity. It is not easy to give with accuracy the number of their adherents, as some of them include among their converts inchoate Proselytes; persons under instruction and not as yet baptized. For these, assuredly, credit cannot fairly be taken, as, however promising their dispositions, they are not formally Christians.

It does not seem a very great result for long years of aspiration and effort—more especially when the quality of the converts is considered. But is there any reason to believe that, as Sir Monier Williams affirms in his interesting work on Hinduism, "Christianity is spreading its boundaries more widely, and striking its foundations more deeply? 'That' as he somewhat oddly expresses it, "the good time will arrive when every tongue of every native of India, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya monutains, shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father?"

The success of the Protestant missionaries is infinitisimal. And I look in vain for any promise of a more abundant harvest. Indeed, Sir Monier Williams elsewhere observes, "The desire of India for Christ is not articulate." But in the absence of articulation, what evidence is there that such a desire exists? The Protestant missionaries without exception—at least I never heard of an exception—lead quite respectable lives, and sometimes even display earnest religiousness and much zeal. But certain it is, that they do not appeal to the popular imagination as did the great Hindu ascetics, who forsook all to follow an ideal. Nor are their arguments, whether on behalf of their own religion, or against the religion of others, largely found persuasive or convincing. The uneducated Hindus are not touched by their preaching. And the educated despise it. The christian heaven depicted by them presents no attraction to their hearers. The concept of happiness cherished by the multitude is purely sensuous. Higher minds look forward to what is called *mukti*—deliverance from bondage. Millions of youth—including girls—attend their schools. But the proportion of their pupils who join their sects is exceedingly small. The vast majority of young Hindus educated by the missionaries, are just as anti-christian as are those educated in the Government Colleges. Mr. Kerr, the author of a well-known and justly esteemed work on *Domestic Life in India*, tells us, that upon one occasion an extremely interesting and highly cultured Brahmin young man was asked by a missionary, whether now that he had read Play's *Evidences* he did not feel drawn to Christianity? The youth's reverence for truth would not allow him to say with his lips what he did not believe in his heart. He hung down his head, made no reply, and, after some silence, looked up with rather a sly smile.

There seems to me, I confess, small prospect that Protestantism, in any or all of its varieites, will make substantial progress in India. And I am not much more hopeful for Catholicism. My own observations and inquiries, brought me to the conclusion expressed by the Abbe Dubois, after three decades of most unsparing and self-denying, and not altogether unfruitful missionary labour: "Let the Christian religion be presented to these people under every possible light, . . . the time of conversion has passed away, and under existing circumstances there remains no human possibility of bringing it back."

I must refer my readers to the Abbe's own *Letters on the States of Christianity in India*, for the grounds upon which he arrived at a conclusion so distasteful to himself. The chief of them is the utter alienation of the Hindu mind from the fundamental positions of Christianity. In one extremely curious and significant passage he remarks: "Should the intercourse between individuals of both nations, by becoming more intimate and more friendly, produce a change in the religions and usages of the country, it will not be to turn Christians that they will forsake their own religion, but rather (what in my opinion is a thousand times worse than idolatry) to become mere atheists; and if they renounce their present customs, it will not be to embrace those of Europeans, but rather to become what are now called Pariahs." It should be observed that, although the Abbe completely despaired of the higher castes ever becoming Christian, he thought that a certain number of converts might be made among the lower castes and the out-castes. Of his own labours he remarks, "For my part, I cannot boast of my successes in this sacred career during the period that I have laboured to promote the interests of the Christian religion. The restraints and privations under which I have lived, by conforming myself to the usages of the country, embracing, in many respects, the prejudices of the natives, living like them, and becoming all but a Hindu myself—in short, by being made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some all these have proved of no avail to me to make proselytes. During the long period I have lived in India in the capacity of a missionary, I have made, with the assistance of a native missionary, in all between two and three hundred converts of both sexes. Of this number two-thirds were Pariahs or beggars; and the rest were composed of Sudras, vagrants, and out-castes of several tribes, who, being without resources, turned Christians, in order to form connections, chiefly for the purpose of marriage, or with some other interested views."

It may be of advantage to compare with these extracts from the Abbe Dubois, the following passage in Mr. Baines' *General Report on the Census of 1891:*

"The greatest development (of Christianity) is found where the Brahmanic caste system is in force in its fullest vigour, in the south and west of the Penisnsula and amongst the Hill tribes of Bengal. In such localities it is naturally attractive to a class of the population whose position is hereditarily and permanently degraded by their own religion; as Islam has proved in Eastern Bengal, and amongst the lower class of the inhabitants of the Punjab.We have seen that in the early days of Portuguese missionary enterprise it was found necessary to continue the breach that Brahmanic custom had placed beetween certain grades of society and those above them; but, in later times, and in foreign missions of the Reformed Church, the tendency has been to absorb all caste distinctions into the general communion of the Christianity of that form. The new faith has thus affected the lower classes more directly than the upper, who have more to lose socially, and less to gain . . ."

In this connection, the following observations in Mr. V.H. Narsihmmyengar's *Mysore Census Report* (1891) may be worth considering:

"Roman Catholicism is able to prevail among the Hindus more rapidly and easily, by reason of its policy of tolerating among its converts the customs of castes and social observances, which constitute so material a part of the Indian social fabric. In the course of the investigations engendered by the census, several Roman Christian communities have been met with, which continue undisturbed in the rites and usages which have guided them in their pre-conversion existence. They still pay worship to the *Kalasam* at marriages and festivals, call in the Brahmin astrologer and *purohit*, use the Hindu religious marks, and conform to various other amenities, which have the advantage of minimising friction in their daily intercourse with their Hindu fellows and brethren."

Hindu view may be of special interest to those who are professionally engaged in the diffusion of Christianity in India. A highly cultivated Hindu gentleman writes thus to a preacher of Christianity:

"You have asked me to set down in writing some of the thoughts which I have expressed, from time to time, in conversation, regarding the chances of Christianity in India, I do so with much diffidence, the source of which is not any doubt in my own mind on the subject, but my fear to give offence by speaking too plainly. I am quite sure that many educated European gentlemen would agree with me. Indeed, I think most whom I have met would. For I have observed that very few of them are Christians of the missionary type. But they usually wrap up their meaning and trim their phrases, so as not to hurt the religious prepossessions and prejudices among which they have grown up. I am confident you know me well enough to be sure that I should be very sorry to say anything that would distress or annoy you. I am also confident that you wish me to be entirely candid. And as what I am writing is intended for your eye alone—though you are quite at liberty to make any use of it you see fit, but without mentioning my name—I shall set down my thoughts just as they come to me, trusting to your often experienced kindness to pardon my crudity of expression.

"The chances of Christianity in India, well, I suppose it will be universally admitted to have little chance among Muslems, Jains, Parsis, and Buddhists. I should say its chances are best among the wild tribes who inhabit the Vindhyan ranges. In these, there is raw material of a good many converts, though they could hardly become Christians of the British type. I fancy, however, that what you specially wish from me is my opinion as to the chances of Christianity among the educated portion of the Hindus properly so called—my own co-religionists. Let me put it in this way. The missionaries come to me and say: 'You ought to be a Christian. I reply, 'Why? What should I gain by it? What I should lose is clear enough.' They rejoin, 'Whatever you might lose, your gain would vastly preponderate. You would gain the true religion; the one and only true religion.' To that I demur. Christianity 'the one and only true religion.' Well, in the first place, I might object that the thirty or forty sects of you had better first agree among yourselves as to what Christianity is, before you ask us to embrace it. But let that pass. What is certain is that Christianity, in all its forms, is losing its hold in Europe, a fact which is perfectly well known to the educated Hindu, and is not, *prime facie*, a recommendation of that religion to him. The tone of the great masters of modern European literature, from Goethe till now, is alien to Christianity, if not opposed to it. There is hardly an exception. At the last Census in France, out of a population of some 35,000,000, 7,500,000 returned themselves as 'of no religious belief'. Is the Christian faith more prevailing in Italy or in Germany? In England it probably is, among certain classes—especially the Lower Middle. But I remember Emerson, in his *English Traits*, tells us, 'The Church at this moment is very much to be pitied. She has nothing left but possession. If a Bishop meets an educated gentleman and reads fatal interrogation in his eyes, he has no resource but to take wine with him.' But you are offended at our superstitions. Is the religion of Spanish peasants, Neapolitan lazzaroni, or British salvationists a bit more rational? Has not Cardinal Newman told us that a popular religion is ever a corrupt religion? And then the grossness of our popular cult offends you. You are shocked, for example, at the worship paid to the *lingam* and the *yoni.* But is not this the real worship—though cryptic—of multitudes in England? The popular literature of that country, so largely erotic, seems to suggest that it is. In France the worship is less veiled. contemporary French fiction and poetry are, for the most part, paeans in honour of the things represented by those symbols. I speak specially of England and France, because those are the European countries with whose languages and literature I am personally familiar. But if I may trust what reaches me by hearsay, it is not very different in other parts of the Western world. Though indeed I do find that you Europeans, on the whole, are, in this matter, upon a lower plane than we are. Our phallic worship is of the reproductive powers of Nature. Yours is of mere sensual gratification. Your Aphrodite is, as Swinburne sings, the goddess of barren delight and unclean."

"You must remember, my dear missionaries, that we look at Christianity as you do at Hinduism, from the outside. Things which use has made familiar to you, excite our wonder; just as things which use has made familiar to us, excite yours. Bear with me, then if, I say that I think you and your Bible Societies have rendered a very doubtful service to the cause you have at heart, by the translation of your sacred Books into our vernaculars, which you have disseminated broadcast in this country. To the man of the people, these writings, if he chances to be able to read them, are simply unintelligble. To the educated, they are amazing. The beauty and pathos and sublimity of some parts of them are unquestionable. There are in the *Pslams* things as fine as anything in our own religious literature. But side by side with these strains of inspiration, are found savagery and imprecations certainly not breathing the wisdom that comes down from above, Your *Bible* is the most unequal book I ever saw; as might, indeed, be expctecd from its extremely composite character. Heights, and depths, and shallows—all are there. There is the most unqualified fetichism—Moses reminds me of an Obi man among the Negroes. But you turn the page, and you come upon such flashes of divine intelligence as might shine out of the depths of eternity. I am thinking, just now, chiefly of the *Old Testament*. But if I am to speak of the New, I confess freely the charm of the *Gospels*, and the high ethical tone, and elevated religious sentiment, of much in the *Apostles.* The figure of the Author of Christianity is certainly one of the noblest—perhaps the noblest—in the annals of humanity. I will go so far as Mill, and allow that we 'must place the prophet of Nazareth in the very front rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast; probably the greatest moral reformer and martyr to that mission who ever existed upon earth; nay, possibly, what he supposed himself to be—not God, for he never made the smallest pretension to that character, and would, probably, have thought such a pretension as blasphemous as it seemed to the men who condemned him but a man charged with a special, express, and unique commission from God to lead mankind to truth and virtue.' I do not wonder that the virtue which went out from him drew the Western world after him. But what is any candid mind, viewing the matter, like myself, from the outside, to make of the theology into which St. Paul converted his religion? No, my dear missionaries, the educated Hindu knows too much of what history and criticism have done for your Sacred Books, while you were busy translating them, to take them at your valuation. If you knew as much, I feel persuaded you would agree with me that the claims made for the *Bible* by orthodox Protestantism, and I suppose I must say orthodox Catholicism too—for Catholics appear to be in the same boat—are quite as untenable as the claims made by orthodox Hindu theologians for the *Vedas,* or by orthodox *mullahs* for the *Quran*. To which I would add, that the claim made for Christianity as the one religion seems not a whit more tenable. That has been well put by a very learned clergyman—The Rev. Mark Pattison—in words imprinted on my memory: 'Reflection on the history and condition of humanity, taken as a whole, gradually convinced me that this theory of the relation of all living beings to the Supreme Being was too narrow and inadequate. It makes an equal Providence, leaving the rest (such is the theory) to the chances of eternal misery. If God intereferes at all to procure the happiness of mankind, it must be on a far more comprehensive scale than by providing for them a church of which by far the majority of them will never hear.' Religions are the accidents of time and place: some better; some worse; all imperfect; 'broken lights'. An absolute religion is essentially relative. I think a wise Hindu, or a wise Mohammedan, or a wise Buddhist, would do well to make the best of the religion in which he is born. That is what I try to do."

Sir Alexsander Arbuthnot, has pointed out some admirable aspects of the work of Christian missionaries too frequently overlooked by unsympathetic eyes. Sir Arbuthnot says:

"The conversion to Christianity of the nations of Europe was the work of several centuries, and it may be that the conversion of the various peoples who inhabit the vast Indian continent will be a matter of even greater difficulty; but however this may be, I cannot help thinking it a mistake to regard missionary enterprise in India a waste of labour. On the contrary, I am convinced that looking at the question merely from a political point of view, the existence of our Christian Missions is an important factor in maintaining the prestige of the British Government in that land. I write from some practical observation of the work of the various missionary bodies, which, although dating back a good many years, is, I believe, fully applicable to the present state of things. I served in India for a period which covered from first to last some thirty-eight years, and during a part of that time my public duties as Director of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency brought me into frequent contact with mission work. While thus employed I was greatly impressed by the admirable manner in which the work was done. I could not help feeling that the example of self-denying zeal which was afforded by many of the English missionaries, toiling, not for profit, not to gratify any ambitious aims, but with the single object of disseminating the faith which they believed to be the true faith, and of thereby promoting the spiritual and moral progress of the people among whom they worked, was a spectacle which could not fail to rebound to the credit of the English nation and to raise the prestige of the British name. For instance, the presence in an Indian district of such a man as the late Bishop Caldwell, who for many years carried on the Edeyenkoody Mission in Tinnevelly, combining as he did devotion to his work with learning, judgement, and knowledge of the natives which were not surpassed by the Englishman throughout the land was an example which could not fail to impress the native mind and to exercise a beneficial influence over number besides the actual converts to Christianity. I am persuaded that this aspect of missionary work is too little regarded by those who denounce it, and that if it be only on account of its value from a secular point of view, that work is deserving of liberal, nay, of enthusiastic support. With the other far more impartant aspects of the question I cannot attempt to deal in this brief note."

These words of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot prove beyond doubt that the preaching of Christianity in India with the help of British Rulers went on for maintaining their prestige. Remember that prestidigitators are conjurers and prestidigitation is a conjuring trick or an illusion which is always beased on deception. By spreading Christianity in India the British Rulers were decidely betraying us. India is world's greatest centre for promoting the spiritual and moral progress of mankind. I can prove my statement by saying that all kinds of spirituality and morality is the outcome of the Vedic religion which was born in India alone. Man's spiritual and moral progress was made through language. It is a patent fact that most of the famous languages of Asian and European countries were the descendents of Sanskrit which was decidedly evolved in India.

Today the world has forgotten the Vedic Religion. It is a betrayal of India. Sanskritic studies are undertaken by a few scholars and that too only at the Universities. It was a spoken language of the Indians even during the Buddhistic times. Dr. A.B. Keith proved this fact in his book, *History of the Sanskrit literature*.

Today we find that most of the Indians do not love Sanskrit which stands betrayed, although it is one of the Indian languages mentioned in the constitution of India. The All-India Radio is broadcasting news in Sanskrit also, the reasons being that our government does not like to deprive Sanskrit of its proper status.

During the middle of the nineteenth century culture was in danger. Both Hindus and Muslims rallied to this cry. A revolt was organized that was to take place around Uttar Pradesh and Central India. Its aim was to throw out the foreigners and restore power to the Mughal Emperor.

Indian regiments at Meerut rebelled on May 10, 1857. Within forty-eight hours Delhi had fallen to the rebels and they proclaimed old Bahadur Shah as the Mughal Emperor of India. The Meerut rebellion flared and spread. There were similar outbreaks all over North and Central India and, between the months of May and September 1857, English authority hung by a slender thread. On the 30th of June, when the English were defeated outside Lucknow (then capital of Oudh), the Europeans in Lucknow took shelter in the Residency. The long siege was finally lifted in November. The names of Generals Outram and Havelock who fought their way into the Residency are associated with the ordeal. Meanwhile, in Cawnpore (Kanpur), Englishmen, women and children were massacred. The English avenged this outrage when they captured Delhi in September. They spread terror over the city, looting and killing in cold blood.

The fall of Delhi was not the end of the Revolt. The Rani of Jhansi, a young widow of twenty, held out heroically against the English forces, leading her troops into battle even after her fort was captured in April 1858.

Her general, Tantia Tope, continued to harass the English until betrayed and executed in 1859. The Revolt of 1857 did not have the support of all the states. The Gurkhas, sent by Nepal, and the Sikhs sided with the English, as did the Nizam in the South and Scindia in the North. And it was because the Indian troops in the Punjab made common cause with the English that they were able to besiege and recapture Delhi in September 1857. This is how India was betrayed by the Sikhs and Gurkhas.

Nayantara Sahgal writes in her book *Freedom Movement in India:*

"The Revolt of 1857 had a profound effect on the English and on their attitude towards India. During the past hundred years they had extended their rule over India and established an administrative system. They had grown in power and confidence. The Revolt shook this confidence and suddenly they realized the danger that surrounded them. They knew they could never again relax their watchfulness in the country they had conquered by force and ruled with the might of their superior military arms. They were certain that a popular united movement, determined to get rid of them, could succeed and they had to take care that this did not happen. A trading company could no longer protect their interests. The British Government now took direct charge and it had to rely even more heavily on its military strength. On the personal level, they became suspicious and distrustful of Indians and had less and less social contact with them after the Revolt. The Englishman's life began to be confined to his home, his office and his club. The Indians and the English began to live in virtual isolation from each other."

Why was it so? Indians felt betrayed and the British rulers of India felt that Indians could not be relied upon.

The coming of the English had far reaching effects on India. English education during Bentinck's adminstration proved to be the first step towards our independence because it gave rise to a new English-educated class—lawyers, businessmen, journalists and professors, who were destined to become the leaders of the national movement. Macaulay, who fathered this scheme of education, can be regarded as one of the founders of modern India. He planned the conquest of India through the English language. Until then, all invaders had been absorbed into India. Nayantara Sahgal observes thus: "Macaulay saw English education as a means of absorbing India into the English scene. He believed that Indians would thus become attached to British ideas and institutions. Independent India has shown this attachment by adopting the British parliamentary system of government and by the continued use of the English language. Macaulay also believed that the teaching of Christianity for which the early schools and colleges were centres—would eventually lead to a wide-spread acceptance of Christianity in India." But Macauly was proved wrong as his scheme of betraying India became known to the Indians.

By 1857 universities had been established at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The spread of English brought vital new currents of thought to India from the Western world that began to stimulate Indian thinking. Bengal took the lead in the new stir of ideas. This was an age of intellectual ferment that was bringing about great changes in Indian society. Faced with a scientific way of looking at life, Indians began to examine their age-old beliefs and institutions. They realized that some of these needed to be changed. The challenge of the West affected the Hindu religion, too, and led to a great reforming zeal. The first of the reformers was Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) was a Brahmin, but he was educated—like all Hindus who wanted to enter public service. He was a scholar of Arabic and Persian. He entered service of the East India Company and began to study English. Christianity attracted him greatly, and he made a serious study of Hebrew and Greek in order to understand it better. After much heartsearching he decided that what his people needed was not Christianity, but a new understanding of their own traditions.

In 1828 he founded the *Brahmo Samaj*, an organization through which he tried to combine what he admired in enlightened Western ideas with the philosophy of the Hindu scriptures.

Hinduism at the beginning of the 19th century was at a low ebb. It had many scriptures but no single authority to unite all Hindus in their thinking. It consisted of a variety of customs, many of which had become meaningless with the pasage of time.

Evil practices had crept into it. In its stagnant condition it could provide no light or inspiration for progress. The *Brahmo Samaj* was founded to cleanse Hinduism of superstition, to fight the evils of caste, polygamy and other customs, to raise the status of women, and to bring a modern, Western approach to India's problems. The crusading spirit of the *Brahmo Samaj* soon spread and in Bombay in 1867 Keshub Chandra Sen founded the *Prarthana Samaj* on similar lines. One of its well-known members was Mahadev Govind Ranade, who was later associated with the founding of the Indian Nantional Congress.

Swami Dayanand Saraswati established the *Arya Samaj* in the Punjab with the purpose of uniting all Hindus under the philosophy of the *Vedas*. India, he felt, could only be reborn though the revival of Vedic literature.

The Vedanta movement found its greatest leader in Swami Vivekananda, a disciple of the saintly Ramakrishna Paramahanasa. Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission to carry on his Master's teachings.

Vivekananda believed that the *Vedas* had a message not only for the Hindus but for all mankind. He trained a body of missionaries to spread this message. When the people of Bengal were agitating on Curzon's partition of Bengal. Bankimchandra's book *Anandmath*, containing the hymn *Bande Mataram*, exalted the theme of service to the motherland.

Bengal gave birth to one of the great Indians of the age, Rabindranath Tagore, whose genius transformed the literary scene.

Bengal produced two eminent scientists: Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, and two other great men of science of this period were Ramanujam and Sir Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman.

The old Indian middle class, the manufacturers and marchants of the 18th century, had been largely wiped out by the later policies of the East India Company, because English merchants did not want the Indians to compete against their goods.

Here is the history of the Roman Catholic Church during the Portuguese conquest of India.

Will Durant in his book: *Our Oriental Heritage* wrote:

In 1498 Vasco da Gama, after a voyage of eleven months from Lisbon, anchored off Calicut. He was well received by the Hindu king of Malabar, who give him a courteous letter to the king of Portugal: 'Vasco de Gama, a noble man of your household has visited my kingdom and had given me great pleasure. In my kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and precious stones. What I seek from your country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet' . . .His Christian majesty answered by claiming India as a Portuguese colony, for reasons which the Raja was too backward to understand. To make matters clearer, Portugal sent a fleet to spread Christianity and wage war."

Anant Kakba Priolkar's *The Goa Inquisition* summarized the brutality with which the Portuguese conducted their christianising mission in India.

Priolkar says: "There were also the native converts. The Hindus living within the Portuguese dominion were forbidden to observe their ancestral rites and customs, even behind closed doors, and subjected to many other discriminatory laws. The Inquisition took a prominent part in enforcing these measures and the resulting harrassment was so great that many of the Hindus also emigrated to neighbouring territories."

According to the findings of Priolkar on the Inquisition:

"The various measures taken by the Portuguese rulers in India with the object of converting the natives to Christianity fall into two broad categories: Firstly, there were those the object of which was to make it difficult for the natives to continue to retain their old religion. The temples and shrines of the Hindus were destroyed and they were forbidden to erect or maintain new ones even outside the Portuguese territories; the practice of Hindu rites and ceremonies such as the marriage ceremony, the ceremony of wearing the sacred thread, the ceremony preformed at the birth of a child was banned; priests and teachers of the Hindus were banished; Hindus whose presence was considered as undesirable from the point of view of propagation of Christianity were sent into exile; those who remained were deprived of their means of subsistence and ancestral rights in village communities; they were also subjected to various forms of humiliations, indignities and disabilities; 'orphan' children of the Hindus were snatched away from their families for being baptised, and men and women were compelled to listen to the preaching of the Christian doctrine.

"In the second category can be classed the measures intended to provide positive incentives for conversion to Christianity, such as those which sought to give the Christians a monopoly of public posts, altered the laws of inheritance in favour of persons who changed their religion, discriminated in favour of persons who changed their religion to Christianity in the matter of rights and privileges in the villages community. As would be expected, the Inquisition played a prominent role both in bringing pressure on the secular authorities to pass discriminatory legislation and in enforcing the measures with characteristic sternness and severity.

"It is interesting to note that although the new Christians were preferred to the Hindu, the racial distinction between the Indian Christian and the Portuguese was scrupulously maintained. In a letter dated February 19, 1718 the king impressed on the viceroy that while the laws in regard to giving preference to New Christians in appointments to Government jobs should be carefully observed, greatest care should be taken to see that the Canarins (Indian Christians) were not given preference over or equalized with the Portuguese in any manner "as this is necessary in the interests of my service and authority and respect of the nation." The letter also laid down that posts to which the Portuguese are considered as qualified after eight years the Canorins should not be considered as qualified in less than twelve years, "as it is reasonable that there should be a difference between them and the Portuguese".

The use of the methods of torture by the Inquisition to bring about submission and punishment to people accused of heretical acts was explained by Dr. C. Dellon in his book *Relation de L'Inquisition de Goa* (Paris, 1688) as follows:

During the month of November and December, I every morning heard the cries of those to whom the torture was administered and which was inflicted so severely, that I have seen many persons of both sexes who have been crippled by it, and amongst others, the first companion allotted to me in my prison.

During the proceedings in the torture, the accused was taken to the place of torture, and while he was being tied up for the purpose, the notary declared in the name of the Inquisitors and other judges that if in the course of the torture the accused died, broke a limb or lost his senses, the responsibility would be his as he voluntarily exposed himself to that risk, which he could avoid by confessing his guilt.

During the torture the only words to be addressed to the accused were "Tell the truth." The notary faithfully recorded all that passed, even to the shrieks of the victim, his despairing ejaculations and his piteous appeals for mercy or to be put to death, nor would it be easy to conceive anything more fitted to excite the deepest compassion than these cold. blooded matter of fact reports".

The Jesuit historian Francisco de Souza writes.

"Minguel Vad was so much favoured by the king, and a man of such quick despatch and so much in a hurry that, having left India in January of 1545, he was back in Goa once again in October of 1546. He commenced to destroy Hindu temples and to supress idolatry in accordance with the amplest provisions and powers which he had brought and provoked against himself the odium of the Hindus to such an extent that they gave him poison, of which he came to die at Chaul as generously as he had lived."

In 1546 the king of Portugal issued the following directive to the Governor of Goa.

"Since my principal aim in regard to matters relating to these parts, which I have in mind oftener than any other, is that our Lord should be served and His faith increased, to me it appears good that from the main lands of Bardez and Salsete which Idulcao presented to me should be abolished all vestiges of idolatry which therein exist and that efforts should be made to effect the conversion of the Hindus living therein."

On August 29, 1566, Viceroy D. Antao de Moronha promulgated the following rule:

"I order that no Hindu temple be erected in any of the teritorries of my king, the lord of these parts, and Hindu temples which already have been erected be not repaired without my special permission, contravention of which will entail the penalty of such temples being destroyed and their value applied towords the expenses of the pious. The missionary zeal of the rulers would not permit them to rest in patience until the Hindu temples fell into ruins for want of repairs."

They also saw that the Hindus were migrating with their gods beyond the reach of their power. A pretext was therefore found in 1567 to destory the temples of Salsete and break the images of gods found therein. The incident which provided the occasion for this action was as follows:

Diego Rodriguez, Captain of the fort of Rachel, had summoned some villagers of Loutolim, but they did not appear. He was advised to burn the houses of these villagers by way of punishment for their disobedience. Rodriguez felt that it would be a more effective punishment if the principal temple of the village was burnt down and he acted accordingly.

The villagers sought redress from the "Capitao as Justicas de sua Magestadc" in Goa who ordered that Rodriguez should make amends by rebuilding the temple which he had burnt. Rodriguez appealed against this decision and he received the powerful support of Archbishop Primaz and the Provincial who told the viceroy that the decision was deplorable. As a result the viceroy ordered Rodriguez to down as many temples of Salsete as possible. Elated at his success, Rodriguez returned to Rachel and with the active assistance of the missionaries of Salsete strove day and night to burn down temples and break the images found therein. Francisco de Souza writes that the number of temples destroyed at this time was 280.

The campaign for the destruction of the Hindu temples existing in the Portuguese territories did not entirely succeed in its objective. They were soon replaced by new temples in neighbouring territories. . .To put a stop to this, the third Concilio Provincial held in Goa in 1685 requested the king of Portugal by a resolution to pass a decree forbidding the Hindus from financing the erection and maintenance of temples in neighbouring territories. This resolution ran as follows:

"It is known for certain that the Brahmins and other infidel subjects of Your Majesty have erected and are erecting in the lands of the neighburing infidel chiefs almost all the temples which in our territories had been pulled down and under the same names and titles as they previously had. The construction and maintenance of these temples as well as of the staff thereof are supported by moneys which are earned in our territories and taken out. This is a great offense against the law of God and also has a deleterious effect on the New Christian converts as it weakens them in their faith. . .This Council prays Your Majesty to order under pain of grave punishments that no infidel subject of Your Majesty build temples or cause them to be built, nor construct them nor finance at his cost their upkeep or maintenance of the staff therein nor give any assistance of gift for such purpose. Since Your Majesty prohibits the Infidels from going on pilgrimage or attending festivals held at such temples or maintain such temples at their cost. . .'

Edict of the Goa Inquisition runs thus:

"By virtue of Holy Obedience and under the sanction of spiritual and temporal punishments incurred by those who disobey Apostolie Mandates we order all persons, both natives of India as well as of any other nation, who are resident in the island of Goa and the adjoining islands or the subdistricts of Salsete and Bardez, both ecclesiastic and lay people, whatever their grade, order, status, condition, dignity or per-eminence, exempt or not exempt, that they faithfully and fully comply with and conform to all that we by this edict resolve with the object of condemning and prohibiting for all time the customs referred to in the preamble, in the manner undermentioned.

"All the natives of India, resident in the island of Goa and other adjacent island and in the subdistricts of Salsete and Bardez, are hereby ordered that during the celebration of their marriages, before or after it or on occasions connected therewith, they should not use Gaitas, or other Hindu musical instruments, as they have been accustomed to do till now. . . that they should not invite, at the time of fixing their weddings, making payment of dowry, or giving wedding presents, relatives of the bridegroom and bride, whether male or female, who commonly are known as Daijis or Gotris, to attend such functions. . .that when dowry is taken to the house of the bridegroom, they should not send from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, or vice-versa, flowers of any kind, betel-leaves, arecanuts or any other things which could be substituted in the absence of these prohibited objects. . .on the occasions of their marriages and all other fuctions which they might order to direct to take place for solemnising marriages, either in the house of the bridegroom or of the bride, songs, which it is customary to sing in the language of the land and are commonly known as 'vovios,' should not be sung either publicly or privately. . .they should not annoint the bridegroom or bride, either together or separately, with a mixture of ground saffron, milk, coconut oil, rice powder, crushed leaves of "abolim" or any other things. . .and if the persons who serve food at there functions are of such status that they are habituated to use footwear, they should not remove the foot-wear before serving. . .that on the sixth day of the birth of their sons and daughters, they should not celebrate the function of keeping vigil with banquets, public or private, or gathering of many persons at their houses. . .

"All the residents of the said districts of the island of Goa and other adjacent islands, and subdistricts Bardez and Salsete, whatever may be their condition or status, are hereby ordered that they should not help, attend, or in any other manner co-operate in any of the forbidden actions enumerated above."

"P.M. Nunes Barreto, a Jesuit priest, in a letter addressed on January 15, 1551 to the Father General in Rome wrote: 'This is to inform Your Paternity that the Inquisition is more necessary in these parts than anywhere else, since all the Christians live together with the Moslems, the Jews and the Hindus and also the largeness of the country itself causes laxness of conscience in persons residing therein. With the curb of the Inquisition they will live a good life. And since the people of this country set store by their honour, if they do not mend their ways from consideration of what they owe to God, they may do so at least out of fear of the disgrace and shame of prison and other penalties."

The conversion of the Hindus and Muslims was the lure of material rewards under theats of violence and force, and that religious conviction played a comparatively minor role in effecting such conversions.

'Bribery, threat and torture' were resorted to freely as instruments of proselytism. Mr. Penrose writes thus:

"Religious bigotry and proselytism, fostered by the Inquisition, sapped the vitals of the empire while more cruel terrorism took the place of the strength—albeit cruel strength—on which the early giants had relied. In so far any one date can be taken as of prime importance in the ruin of the Portuguese empire, it is 6 May 1542, when Francis Xavier set foot ashore at Goa. From then on the Jesuits did their worst, using every form of bribery, threat, and torture to effect a conversion. Button, writing on the matter refers to "fire and steel, the dungeon and the rack, the rice pot and the rupee,' whice played the persuasive part in the good work. . . assigned to them. Facetious as this quotation may seem, it sums up in a nutshell the methods used, and the satisfaction at the result, for the Jesults were fanatics, and like all fanatics they did irreparable harm."

The following palage from the pen of Fr. Alexandre Valignano, who occupied the position of the Visitador de Provincia da India, is revealing: "As regards the first duty, viz., conversion of unbelievers in these parts of India, this does not commonly occur as a result of sermons and doctrines, but is effected by other just means, such as obstructing the idolatrous practices of the unbelievers and meeting out just punishment refusing them favours which can justly be refused, and offering them to those who are nearly converted, and honouring, assisting and protecting the latter in order that others might thereby get converted. The Father of Novices should try his best to see that none of these means is left unavailed of and thus help the conversion of unbelievers. Since almost all of these means have already been approved by the sessions of Concilio Provincial in Goa and in the measures promulgated by the king of Portugal and his viceroys of India in favour of Christianity, the Father of Novices should strive to be thoroughly versed in all these things and try hard to see that all comply therewith and implement them, in as much as experience has shown that many are thus converted."

A history of the Inquisition in India includes the policy of systematic religious persecution adopted by the Portuguese in India, the object of which was to convert the native population to Christianity by hook or crook or by force:

A letter written to Duque Giuliano be Medics on January 6, 1515, from Cochin, by Andre Corsali, in which he refers to the destruction of a temple by the Portuguese during the regime of Albuquerque, the Portuguese conqueror of Goa, reads thus:

"In this land of Goa and of the whole of India there are innumerable ancient edifices of the gentiles, and in a little neighbouring island that is called Divari, the Portugues, in order to build the land (town) of Goa, have destroyed an ancient temple called a Pagoda which was built with wonderful skill, with ancient figures of a certain black stone worked with very great perfection, of which some are standing, ruined and spoilt, but which these Portuguese hold in no esteem. Should I have in hand any (figure) so ruined, I shall send it to Your Highness that Your Highness may see how in ancient times sculpture was appreciated everywhere."

In a letter addressed to the King of Portugal on December 20, 1514, Albuquerque gives an account of his own efforts to convert the king of Cochin.

According to Lucena, the persecution of the Hindus and the movement to destroy Hindu temples and other vestiges of Hindu religion was initiated by Minguel Vaz and Diogo Boroa, after 1540. In a letter addressed to the King of Portugal on November 4, 1518, Friar Antonio writes thus:

"You will be rendering great service to God if from this island you send to Portugal a Hindu individual Krishna by name, a great servant of yours, who is here sunk in heathenism but has come very near to Christ as I have spoken many a times to him, and gives no excuse other than that in Portugal, after seeing Your Majesty, he will convert himself to Christianity.

"Your Majesty should take care that the poor mendicants who are known as *Jogees* should not enter this island from the mainland, because they bring flowers used in worship and other relics of their temples and devils with which they restore the heathenism of local peoples.

"In this island of Goa a friar has placed some crosses in the Hindu temples and the Hindus say that others come and tell them that they are already Christians and the latter would not speak with them any longer.

"Sir, there is a great temple in this island of Divar which has much freestone and a large part of it is already destoryed. We pray Your Majesty to make a gift of it to this monastery".

In a report submitted to the king of Portugal from Cochin on January 12, 1522, Bispo de Dumense wrote as follows:

"Around the territories of the neighbours of Goa, there exist in that island temples in which statues of the enemy of the Cross are worshipped and every year their festivals are celebrated, These are attended by many Christians, both Europeans and natives, which is very wrong in that it promotes idolatry.

"It will be a service to God if these temples in the island of Goa, are destroyed and in their stead churches with saints are erected, in it is ordered that whosoever desires to live in this island and has a house and lands there should become a Christian, and if he does not wish to be one should go out of the island. I assure Your Majesty that there would then be no individual who did not turn to the faith of Our Lord Christ, because if exiled from this island he will have no means of livelihood."

In a letter dated November 13, 1521, in which Diogo Mariz, Excrivao da camara de Goa, reports to the king of Portugal about the Churches in Goa he writes that "many natives of the land have been and are being converted to the Christian faith. It is unlikely that all these would be Muslims. It appears probable that many Hindus too, especially those belonging to the lower castes, had already been converted at this time by the use of temptations and pressures in various forms."

In 1541 the policy of "Rigour of Mercy." (*Rigor de Misericordia*) was to be applied in Goa. In this year Hindu temples were destoryed and various leaders of the Hindu Community were made to agree of "their free volition" that the income of the lands belonging to the temples which had been destoyed might be applied to the upkeep of Christian missionaries. A resolution adopted by the leaders of the Hindu community in 1541 is given below:

"On the 28th of June of 1541 in his own dwelling at Goa, Fernao Rodriguez de Castello Branco Veedorda Fazenda (Controller of Finances) and the Governor D. Estavao de Gama himself governing the land, at the time being present (a list of several Hindus and Hindu religious organizations)... they were informed by the same Controller of Finances, that a few days earlier they were told that they should, with free will be prepared to give and donate the income of the lands belonging to the temples and situated in this island, since these temples were entirely destroyed and there was no chance of their even being built again and as previously they did not use this income fruitfully but spent all of it towards the same temples and its Gurus (ministers), dancing girls, brahmins, black-smiths, carpenters, washermen, barbers, shoemakers, painters and other servants of the aforesaid temples, it was resolved that the income should in furture be applied towards and donated to the chapels built in this island, and also to defray the expenses of the confraternity of the converts to the faith."

On November, 6, 1941, Martin Alfonso de Melo, a nobleman of the Royal family, wrote from Goa to the king of Portugal:

"In these islands of Goa many souls of Hindus and Muslims are converted to Christianity and many more would have been converted had it not been for some persons who support these Hindus, like Krishna, Luqu and Anu Sinai and some of their relatives who hold that all the Hindus should not be converted. Your Majesty, in the service of God, should provide in this matter that these principal leaders should be converted to Christianity and if they do not agree, order that they should be taken to Portugal (exiled) under the pretext that you wish to learn of certain matters relating to this territory from them.

"As a result of their being away from these islands for two years, I believe that all the people of these islands, or a major part of them, will become Christians. As regards the persons of whom I spoke, who would come there, if they do not become Christians before they return, it should be ordered that they should convert within the following six months, and if they do not wish to do so that they should leave these islands. They would get converted in order to aviod banishment from the land of their birth and in this manner your Majesty shall be the cause of saving many souls and thereby render great service to God."

The Vicar, General Fr. Minguel Vaz and Diogo Borda struggled hard to bring about the early Christianisation of the natives of Goa. To secure it Minguel Vaz paid a visit to Portugal and in the Archivo Nacional of Torre de Tombo is found a 41-point plan which he sent to the king from

Evora in the month of November, 1545. The origin of most of the harsh measures subsequently adopted to secure the conversion of the natives can be traced to this plan. Some of the suggestions contained in the plan are reproduced here below:

"An order should be promulgated in Goa to the effect that in the whole island there should not be any temple public or secret, contravention whereof should entail grave penalties. . .that no Hindu festival should be publicly celebrated in the whole island; that Brahmin preachers from the mainland should not gather in the houses of the Hindus; and that persons who are in charge of St. Paul's should have the power to search the houses of the Brahmins and other Hindus in case there exists a presumption or suspicion of the existence of idols there.

"Again there exists in this island a caste of the people who call themselves Synaes Brahmins, who are much opposed to Christianity and not only do not convert themselves but also hinder the conversion of others whenever possible and support the error of heathenism. . . These Synaes who hinder conversions to Christianity, or at least their leaders, should be banished from the island. I know some who are awaiting such an order before they would convert themselves.

"When a native of the land dies without leaving male issue, even if he leaves a daughter, such a daughter who becomes Christian, even though this occur after the death of the father, should get the entire estate, so that this should provide a motive for some of them to convert themselves.

These suggestions clearly show that the foreign missionaries were betraying India in a manner of their own, which was highly detrimental to the interests of Indians.

11 *The Flutter of Freedom*

The Act of 1919, giving effect to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, contained a clause authorising the appointment of a Commission after ten years to report upon the operation of the Act and to recommend any changes considered necessary. The Conservative Government decided to appoint such a Commission in 1927, but made the fatal mistake of limiting its membership to Englishmen. The Indian Nationalist Parties naturally objected to the future of India being left in the hands of Englishmen—even if they were "Seven of God's Englishmen," as Mr. Baldwin described them.

The British Labour Party made an equally fatal mistake in deciding to participate in the Commission. The Labour Party secured certain modifications of the procedure, by which the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils were invited to appoint co-operating committees; but this inadequate afterthought did not wipe out the original insult and partically every representative Indian politician, from the extreme Left to the extreme Right, joined in rejecting the Commission

Sir John Simon, the well known Liberal lawyer, was appointed Chairman of the Commission, and there were three Conservative members, two Labour members, and one additional Liberal. The two Labour members were Mr. Vernon Hartshorn, a miners' leader, who had been Post master-General in the Labour Government of 1924, and Major C. R. Attlee, a Labour "intellectual," who had occupied the post of Financial Secretary to the War Office. When the Commission reached India, it was boycotted by all the representative parties and the only Indians who co-operated either represented sectional interests, for whom they hoped to get advantages, or were "loyalists" to the British Raj, unaffected by the general sentiment.

The Indian Legislative Assembly declined to appoint a committee to co-operate with the Commission. Accordingly, the Central Indian Committee was appointed by the Council of State, half of whose members, as we have seen, are nominated by the British authorities. Most of the Provincial Councils eventually appointed co-operating committees, but in every case it was by the vote of the official and nominated members. Only one-eighth of the elected Indian representatives, either in the Legislative Assembly or the Councils, voted in favour of co-operation with the Commission. In the Legislative Assembly all the parties—the Independents (representing the Moslems), the Nationalists (representing the Hindus), and the *Swaraj Party* (representing the National Congress) —voted in favour of boycotting the Commision. This was an expression of national will equivalent to united action by the Conservative, Labour, and Liberal Parties in the British House of Commons.

The Indian National Congress took the initiative in calling an All Parties conference in India to prepare a Constitution representing Indian desires. The conference was remarkable in that it represented practically every political and religious section of the Indian people, except the most loyal Moslems. Among the non-political bodies represented was the Indian Trade Union Congress.

The Indian National Congress, which met at Madras at Christmas 1927, declared in favour of the independence of India, but the Congress representatives at the All Parties conference accepted Dominion status in order to secure agreement. When the Congress met at Calcutta in 1928, the strength of the movement for complete independence had gained immensely, and it was only as a result of a compromise suggested by Mr. Gandhi that the Constitution proposed by the All Parties conference was temporarily accepted. The Congress decided that it would accept Dominion status if a definite offer were extended by the British Government within one year, but if this were not done it was agreed that a campaign for full independence by the method of non-violent Civil Disobedience would be initiated. Even this compromise resolution was opposed by one-third of the delegates in favour of an immediate demand for complete independenee.

Five months later the Labour Government assumed office in Great Britain. Some of the British legislators who appreciated the seriousness of the position in India urged upon Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the newly appointed Secretary of State for India, immediate action along three lines:

(1) The declaration of the intention of the Government to introduce a measure of Dominion status for India.

(2) The extending of an invitation to the Indian political parties and organisations to send representatives to a Round Table conference to agree upon the details of the measure and the arrangements for the transition period;

(3) The granting of an amnesty to all political offenders in Indian prisons and the cessation of further prosecution for the expression of political opinion.

The Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, visited London in the autumn of 1929, and after a consultation, it was agreed to go some way to meet the first and second of these proposals. On his return to India the Viceroy invited the Indian parties and organisations to send representatives to a Round Table conference.

The Government did not feel able, however, to give a definite pledge that Dominion status would be the basis of the discussions. This was partly due to the fact that the Labour Party had participated in the Simon Commission and consequently could not anticipate its report. It was also due to a well-based fear that an announcement of Dominion status would lead to defeat in the House of Commons by the united opposition of the Conservative and Liberal Parties. For these reasons the Government did not go further than declare that the *ultimate objective of British policy was the granting of Dominion status to India.*

Unfortunately, acting upon the advice of the Viceroy and the Governors of the various Provinces in India, the proposal for an amnesty for political offenders was entirely rejected by Mr. Wedgwood Benn and the British Government. There had been a considerable agitation in Great Britain regarding the trial of thirty-three political offenders at Meerut on a charge of waging war against His Majesty. All except one of these had been arrested before the Labour Government assumed office. They had been deliberately transferred to Meerut (from Bombay, Calcutta, and other cities) because trial at Meerut would not necessitate a jury. Many of the Meerut prisoners had been active in the Trade Union Movement; whilst probably the majority were Communists, they were not all associated with the Communist Party.

Even after the return of the Labour Government, the prosecution of political offenders was maintained, and speakers and writers were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for expressions of opinion which would have been regarded as legitimate criticism in any democratic country. Considerable criticism of the political persecution in India was expressed from the Labour benches in the House of Commons, but the farthest we could get the Government to go was the adoption of the following resolution in December 1929: "That this House welcomes the evidence of the co-operation of Indian representatives in the settlement of the Constitutional question, and relies upon the Goverement of India to encourage good-will by the sympathetic conduct of its administrative and executive functions, particularly in relation to expression of political opinion."

Despite the timidity of the Government's policy, the first effects of the Viceory's declaration suggested that there was hope of a basis of agreement and co-operation. The Moderate Indian politicians warmly welcomed the offer of a Round Table conference, and the Congress leaders, including Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the "extremist" chairman, expressed appreciation of the offer and indicated acceptance if certain conditions were fulfilled. The most important of these conditions were the acceptance of Dominion status as a basis of discussion, a political amnesty, and a properly represented Indian delegation at the conference.

The good effect of the offer, however, soon began to disappear. It met with influential opposition in Great Britain, and Government spokesmen began to modify their language in order to meet the criticism. Although Mr. Baldwin, the Conservative leader, had given provisional approval, his colleagues insisted on its withdrawal. Mr. Lloyd George was mischieveously critical, and an ex-Viceroy and two ex-Secretaries of State for India—Lord Reading, Lord Peel, and Lord Birkenhead—also made known their opposition. Lord Birkenhead particularly denounced the offer in severe terms.

Although Mr. Wedgwood Benn upheld the new policy challengingly in the House of Commons by declaring that it represented a new spirit and attitude, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald informed Mr. Baldwin in a letter that it made no change in the manner or period of the establishment of self-government in India, and Lord Rusell, the Under-Secretary for India, stated that full Dominion status was a long way off. Under the influence of these utterances and a violent anti-Indian campaign in the British Press, faith and enthusiasm in India were destroyed.

Immediately prior to the holding of the Indian National Congress at Lahore, at Christmas 1929, Mr. Gandhi and a deputation of representative Indian leaders met Lord Irwin. He could not promise that Dominion status would be accepted by the Government as a basis for discussion at the Round Table conference, nor could he give any assurance regarding the representative character of the delegation which would be invited to voice India's claims. The result was that Mr. Gandhi went to the Congress feeling that there was no alternative except to press for full independence and to initiate a Civil Disobedience campaign. Mr. Gandhi only decided as a last resort to give a lead for this policy. I know that about this time Mr. Gandhi indicated to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald that if it were impossible for him to make a declaration before the publication of the report of the Simon Commission, a personal assurance that the Government would stand by the pledge of the Labour Party for Dominion status would be satisfactory.

At the Lahore Congress an overwhelming majority was given for Mr. Gandhi's policy. There was a small minority for the acceptance of the British offer, led by Mr. Malaviya.On the other extreme, there was a large majority against the non-violent basis of the campaigm insisted upon by Mr. Gandhi. Immediately following the Congress, the executive authorised Mr. Gandhi to take immediate steps to plan the commencement of Civil Disobedience.

Even after the decision of the Lahore Congress, Mr. Gandhi made several efforts to secure a basis of negotiation with the British Government. He issued a statement recognising that there is little difference in practical effect between Dominion status and independence, and indicated that if the Government would immediately take action to remove some of the heavy burdens upon the poverty stricken people of India, he would regard this as a proof of a new spirit, which would make negotiation possible. Amyng his proposals was the abolition of the Salt Tax, which fell with great severity upon the Indian people and which was an especially hated tax because it was first imposed as a punitive indemnity after the Mutiny to compensate for the loss of English life and property.

Unfortunately, these olive branches were not accepted, and in March 1930, Mr. Gandhi sent a young English Quaker, Mr. Reginald Reynolds, to the Viceroy with a letter announcing the commencement of the Civil Disobedience campaign. This letter is likely to prove historic, and reflects, as no other document does, the spirit of the Civil Disobedience campaign and of its leader, I reproduce it here:

"*Satyagraha Ashram*
"Sabarmati, March 2nd, 1930.

"DEAR FRIEND,—Before embarking on Civil Disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out.

"My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less fellow human beings, even though they may do the greatest wrong to me and mine. Whilst, therefore, I hold the British rule to be a curse, I do not intend harm to a single Englishman or to any legitimate interest he may have in India.

"I must not be misunderstood. Though I hold the British rule in India to be a curse, I do not, therefore, consider Englishmen in general to be worse than any other people on earth. I have the privilege of claiming many Englishmen as dearest friends. Indeed, much that I have learnt of the evil of British rule is due to the writings of frank and courageous Englishmen who have not hesitated to tell the unpalatable truth about that rule.

"And why do I regard the British rule as a curse?

"It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford.

"It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture. And, by the policy of disarmament, it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking the inward strength, we have been reduced, by all but universal disarmament, to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness.

"In common with many of my countrymen, I had hugged the fond hope that the proposed Round Table conference might furnish a solution. But when you said plainly that you could not give any assurance that you or the British Cabinet would pledge yourselves to support a scheme of full Dominion status, the Round Table conference could not possibly furnish the solution for which vocal India is consciously, and the dumb millions are unconsciously, thirsting. Needless to say, there never was any question of Parliament's verdict being anticipated. Instances are not wanting of the British Cabinet, in anticipation of the Parliamentary verdict, having pledged itself to a particular policy.

"The Delhi interview having miscarried, there was no option for Pandit Motilal Nehru and me but to take steps to carry out the solemn resolution of the Congress arrived at in Calcutta at its session in 1928.

"But the resolution of Independence should cause no alarm, if the word Dominion status mentioned in your announcement had been used in its accepted sense. For, has it not been admitted by responsible British statesmen that Dominion status is virtual Independence? What, however, I fear is that there never has been any intention of granting such Dominion status to India in the immediate future.

"But this is all past history. Since the announcement many events have happened which show unmistakably the trend of British policy.

"It seems as clear as daylight that responsible British statesmen do not contemplate any alteration in British policy that might adversely affect Britain's commerce with India or require an impartial and close scrutiny of Britain's transactions with India. If nothing is done to end the process of exploitation, India must be bled with an ever-increasing speed. The Finance Member regards as a settled fact the 1s. 6d. ratio which by a stroke of the pen drains India of a few crores. And when a serious attempt is being made, through a civil form of direct action, to unsettle this fact, among many others, even you cannot help appealing to the wealthy landed classes to help you to crush the attempt in the name of an order that grinds India to atoms.

"Unless those who work in the name of the nation understand, and keep before all concerned, the motive that lies behind the craving for Independence, there is every danger of Independence itself coming to us so changed as to be of no value to those toiling voiceless millions for whom it is sought and for whom it is worth taking. It is for that reason that I have been recently telling the public what Independence should really mean.

"Let me put before you some of the salient points.

"The terrific pressure of land revenue, which furnishes a large part of the total, must undergo considerable modification in the Independent India. Even the much vaunted permanent settlement benefits the few rich *Zamindars*, not the *Ryots*. The *ryot* has remained as helpless as ever. He is a mere tenant at will. Not only, then, has the land revenue to be considerably reduced, but the whole revenue system has to be so revised as to make the *ryot's* good its primary concern.

"But the British system seems to be designed to crush the very life out of him. Even the *salt* he must use to live is so taxed as to make the burden fall heaviest on him, if only because of the heartless impartiality of its incidence. The tax shows itself still more burdensome on the poor man, when it is remembered that salt is the one thing he must eat more than the rich man both individually and collectively. The drink and drug revenue, too, is derived from the poor. It saps the foundations both of their health and morals. It is defended under the false plea of individual freedom, but, in reality, is maintained for its own sake. The ingenuity of the authors of the reforms of 1919 transferred this revenue to the so-called responsible part of Dyarchy, so as to throw the burden of prohibition on it, thus, from the very beginning, rendering it powerless for good. If the unhappy Minister wipes out this revenue, he must starve education, since in the existing circumstances he has no new source of replacing that revenue. If the weight of taxation has crushed the poor from above, the destruction of the central supplementary industry, i.e. hand-spinning, has undermined their capacity for producing wealth.

"The tale of India's ruination is not complete without reference to the liabilities incurred in her name. Sufficient has been recently said about these in the public Press. It must be the duty of a free India to subject all the liabilities to the strictest investigation, and repudiate those that may be adjudged by an impartial tribunal to be unjust and unfair.

"The iniquities sampled above are maintained in order to carry on a foreign administration, demonstrably the most expensive in the world. Take your own salary. It is over Rs. 21,000 (£ 1,500) per month, besides many other indirect additions. The British Prime Minister gets £ 5,000 per year, i.e. over Rs, 5,400 per month at the present rate of exchange. You are getting over Rs. 700 (£ 51 17*s.*) per day against India's average income of less than 2 annas per day. The Prime Minister gets Rs 180 per day against Great Britain's average income of nearly Rs. 2 pe1 day. Thus you are getting much over five thousand times India's average income. The British Prime Minister is getting only ninety times Britain's average income.

"On bended knees I ask you to ponder over this phenomenon. I have taken a personal illustration to drive home a painful truth. I have too great a regard for you as a man to wish to hurt your feelings. I know that you do not need the salary that you get. Probably the whole of your salary goes for charity. But a system that provides for such an arrangement deserves to be summarily scrapped. What is true of the Viceregal salary is true generally of the whole administration.

"A radical cutting down of the revenue, therefore, depends upon an equally radical reduction in the expenses of the administration. This means a transformation of the scheme of government. This transformation is impossible without Independence. Hence, in my opinion, the spontaneous demonstration of 26th January, in which hundreds of thousands of villagers instinctively participated. To them Independence means deliverance from the killing weight.

"Not one of the great British political parties, it seems to me, is prepared to give up the Indian spoils to which Great Britain helps herself from day to day, often in spite of the unanimous opposition of Indian opinion.

"Nevertheless, if India is to live as a nation, if the slow death by starvation of her people is to stop, some remedy must be found for immediate relief. The proposed conference is certainly not the remedy. It is not a matter of carrying conviction by argument. The matter resolves itself into one of matching forces. Conviction or no conviction Great Britain would defend her Indian commerce and interests by all the forces at her command. India must consequently evolve force enough to free herself from that embrace of death.

"It is common cause that, however disorganised and for the time being insignificant it may be, the party of violence is gaining ground and making itself felt. Its end is the same as mine. But I am convinced that it cannot bring the desired relief to the dumb millions. And the conviction is growing deeper and deeper in me that nothing but un-adulterated non-violence can check the organised violence of the British Government. Many think that non-violence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force, as well against the organised violent force of the British rule as the unorganised violent force of the growing party of violence. To sit still would be to give rein to both the forces above mentioned. Having an unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence as I know it, it would be sinful on my part to wait any longer.

"This non-violence will be expressed through Civil Disobedience, for the moment confined to the inmates of the *Satyagraha Ashram*, but ultimately designed to cover all those who choose to join the Movement with its obvious limitations.

"I know that in embarking on non-violence I shall be running what might fairly be termed a mad risk. But the victories of truth have never been won without risk, often of the gravest character. Conversion of a nation that has consciously or unconsciously preyed upon another far more numerous, far more ancient, and no less cultured than itself is worth any amount of risk.

"I have deliberately used the word conversion. For my ambition is no less than to convert the British people through non-violence, and thus make them see the wrong they have done in India. I do not seek to harm your people. I want to serve them even as I want to serve my own. I believe that I have always served them. I served them up to 1919 blindly. But when my eyes were opened and I conceived non-co-operation, the object still was to serve them. I employed the same weapon that I have, in all humility, successfully used against the dearest members of my family. If I have equal love for your people with mine, it will not long remain hidden. It will be acknowledged by them, even as the members of my family acknowledged it after they had tried me for several years. If the people join me, as I expect they will, the sufferings they will undergo, unless the British nation sooner retraces its steps, will be enough to melt the stoniest hearts.

"The plan through Civil Disobedience will be to combat such evils as I have sampled out. If we want to sever the British connection, it is because of such evils. When they are removed the path becomes easy. Then the way to friendly negotiation will be open. If the British commerce with India is purely private greed, you will have no difficulty in recognising our Independence.

"I respectfully invite you, then, to pave the way for an immediate removal of those evils, and thus open a way for a real conference between equals, interested only in promoting the common good of mankind through voluntary fellowship and in arranging terms of mutual help and commerce equally suited to both. You have unnecessarily laid stress upon the communal problems that unhappily affect this land. Important though they undoubtedly are for the consideration of any scheme of government, they have little bearing on the greater problems which are above community and which affect them all equally.

"But if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the eleventh day of this month I shall proceed with such co-workers of the *Ashram* as I can take to disregard the provisions of the Salt Laws. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's standpoint. As the Independence Movement is essentially for the poorest in the land, the beginning will be made with this evil. The wonder is that we have submitted to the cruel monopoly for so long. It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope that there will be tens of thousands ready, in a disciplined manner, to take up the work after me, and, in the act of disobeying the Salt Act, to lay themselves open to the penalties of a law that should never have disfigured the Statute Book.

"I have no desire to cause you unnecessary embarrassment, or any at all, so far as I can help. If you think that there is any substance in my letter, and if you will care to discuss matters with me, and if to that end you would like me to postpone publication of this letter, I shall gladly refrain on receipt of a telegram to that effect soon after this reaches you. You will, however, do me the favour not to deflect me from my course unless you can see your way to conform to the substance of this letter.

"This letter is not in any way intended as a threat, but is a simple and sacred duty peremptory on a Civil Resister. Therefore I am having it specially delivered by a young English friend who believes in the Indian cause and is a full believer in non-violence, and whom Providence seems to have sent to me, as it were, for the very purpose.

"I remain,
"Your sincere friend,
"M.K. GANDHI."

When Gandhi arrived at Dandi, a small, desolate village surrounded by mud flats (on which nothing will grow because they are completely covered by the sea at the spring tides), he found that the police had been busy for a month destroying all the salt deposits. He, therefore, decided to break the law by distilling water from the sea.

It was only by the stern prohibition of their leader that a vast population was deterred from gathering at Dandi. The police had commandeered the only available water supply and there was no food for the multitude. But, even so, three thousand people gathered from the neighbouring villages to witness the initial act of the Civil Disobedience campaign.

The unspectacular beginning of the Civil Disobedience campaign led the Press and the authorities in India and in London to regard it as a fiasco. The British newspapers ridiculed it, and in Government circles there were signs of relief. But soon the movement began to spread like prairie fire, and the Press and European circles in India began to change their tone. Complaint was increasingly made that Gandhi was left free. *The Times* correspondent at Bombay telegraphed on April 14th that "the laws of the country have not only been broken, but have been contemptuously flouted from one end of India to the other." He described how in the villages of Gujarat the police and other Government officials were being boycotted so strictly that the authorities had to set up stores to provide food and other commodities. The movement was also reaching such formidable dimensions in Bombay and many of the large cities that Mr. Gandhi's influence could no longer be minimised. Accordingly, it was decided to arrest him.

Gandhi was arrested under an Ordinance of 1827, which gave the Government of Bombay the right to intern almost anyone for any period on any charge which could possibly be construed as a menace to public order. The arrest was carried out at dead of night at Gandhi's camp at Karadi, near Surat, and extraordinary precautions were taken to avoid public knowledge and demonstrations.

Gandhi was fast asleep when, about 1 A.M., the District Police Superintendent, with the District Magistrate, and a score of armed police, entered his room. They turned a flash-lamp on him and he awoke at once. Gandhi was quite cool, and merely asked that the warrant be read to him and that he be allowed to clean his teeth. Then he was taken by motor-lorry to the railway station, and placed on the Bombay express en route for Yeravada prison.

It became evident that the agitation had its roots in the sentiment of the Indian people in every Province.

The Bombay and North-West Provinces proved the most difficult areas for the Government. In the Gujarat district of Bombay practically the whole population openly defied the British, making salt, closing the liquor-shops, declining to buy British goods, boycotting the Government officials, and refusing to pay the land charges. In the statement issued by the Government of Bombay justifying the arrest of Mr. Gandhi it was acknowledged that in this district the social boycott had "induced a very considerable number of *Patels* (village headmen) to resign, thus causing serious inconvenience to the administration."

Indians openly defied British rule. The Press reported that 80,000 persons in Calcutta, 50,000 in Madras, 20,000 in Lahore, and almost the entire population of the city of Peshawar had broken the Salt Laws. It soon became clear that the Government was faced by a national uprising far more extensive and determined than had ever before been seen in India.

In the city of Peshawar there was a strong Congress movement, despite the fact that the population was almost entirely Moslem. The movement was on ordinary Congress lines, and its leaders had strongly emphasised the principle of non-violence. There was no reason to disbelieve the statement of Congress officials that they had not approached the tribes across the frontier or the Red Shirts for co-operation.

The most sensational development occurred within Peshawar itself. The uprising of the people was so formidable that the British authorities had entirely to withdraw, and for a week the city was left to the control of the Congress. The incidents which led to this remarkable situation are not clear, but the Indian and British accounts agreed that, following the arrest of the Congress leaders in the city, there was a clash between the troops and the crowds, in which a British despatch-rider was killed and a large number of Indians shot. The British estimate of the killed was 30 and the injured 33. The Indian estimate was 125 killed and many hundreds injured.

In firing upon the Indian crowds, the Britishers strongly condemned the use of armoured cars. They reported: "We think that armoured cars were unsuitable for dealing with the conditions prevailing in Peshawar City on April 23rd. Although we think that the employment of force to disperse the city mob would have been inevitable in any circumstances, yet we have no doubt that the moment an armoured car ran over or knocked down a member of the mob, the difficulties of the situation were aggravated to a considerable extent . . . There can be no doubt, in our opinion, as far as the events of April 23rd are concerned, that the effect of the armoured cars was exasperation. By running over members of the crowd they provoked a spirit of vindictiveness at the first stage."

One of the two judges held that "some men were run over by an armoured car before the despatch-rider was attacked. The situation would never have assumed such a serious aspect but for this unfortunate circumstance."

A significant feature of the disturbances at Peshawar was the refusal of a platoon of the Garhwal Rifles, an Indian regiment, which had always been distinguished for its loyalty, to proceed against the Indian crowds. This incident caused a great sensation in both British and Indian circles. At the court martial proceedings, it was stated in evidence that the men said, We will not shoot our unarmed brethren, because India's army is to fight India's enemies from without. We will not go into the city. You may blow us from the guns if you like." Seventeen men were sentenced, one to transportation for life, another to fifteen years' imprisonment, and the rest to terms of rigorous imprisonment, varying from three to ten years. These severe sentences were no doubt imposed in order to deter other Indian soldiers but one will find it difficult to withhold admiration from men who were prepared to risk their liberty and life rather than shoot down countrymen engaged in the national struggle.

After leaving the city of Peshawar under the control of the Congress Committee for a week, the British re-occupied it in the dead of night by troops, infantry, and cavalry, with the support of aeroplanes. The entrances to the city were locked and guarded, and no one was permited to leave or enter until thirty of the Congress leaders had been arrested. But despite this show of force, the spirit of the people remained undaunted. After the military occupation they demonstrated their Nationalist sympathies by vast processions.

In the villages around Peshawar the Congress Committees were declared unlawful associations. and the authorities vigorously pursued the rebellious tribes and the Red Shirts. The Haji of Turangzai, his son, and their followers were repeatedly bombed, and on at least one occasion artillery was taken out to fire into the mouths of the caves which they occupied in the mountain passes. The following reports illustrate the methods adopted:

"The Haji of Turangzai is still occupying his position, which was bombed at intervals during the week, and casualties are believed to have been inflicted. As the presence of hostile tribes on the district borders and the attempt to gather *lashkars* (fighting bands) have a disturbing effect on the district, an ultimatum has been delivered to Halinzai Mohmands, that, if the Haji himself does not withdraw within twenty-four hours, action from the air will be taken against the villages where he has been establishing himself." (*Government of India Statement* May 27th, 1930.)

"To-day's bombardment had been kept a strict secret and the first shells must have been an unpleasant surprise. In spite of a strong wind, which blew clouds of grit and sand across the plain, the firing was extraordinarily accurate, and the gunners, picking up the range from the beginning, dropped their shells right into the mouth of the dark cleft which marks the western end of the caves. From behind our sands-bags on the top of the fort we could see the sudden flash from the battery position, and then, while the Mohmand mountains were still echoing to the sound of the guns, thin columns of smoke and dust were rising from the caves. The Royal Air Force now joined the party. Aeroplanes appeared in the distant sky and the sharper crack of bombs mingled with the dull explosion of shells." (*Times* correspondent, June 4th, 1930.)

A determined offensive was also taken against the Red Shirts. The leaders were arrested, the organisation declared illegal, and the Seditious Meetings Act put into force. The murder of a British official in one of the villages led to the use of troops and extensive imprisonments. These methods failed, however, to crush the movement. The Red Shirts membership increased from 700 to 25,000 within a few weeks of the arrest of their leaders.

After comparative quietude, the situation at Peshawar became more serious than ever in August owing to the advance of the *Afridis* across the frontier. A considerable British force was employed against them, 6,000 bombs being dropped in one day. The position was made more critical by the assistance given to the *Afridis* by the villagers and the continued unrest in the city. The developments became so grave that the Viceroy proclaimed martial law.

Bombay provided the most remarkable demonstrations of the extent to which the principle of non-violence was accepted by the people. On more than one occasion when processions were prohibited people gathered thousands strong and quietly sat on the ground until the police and troops withdrew. Then they got up and carried through their programme. On one occasion a procession, reported in the British Press as 250,000 strong, was prohibited from marching through certain streets. The people sat down, and remained seated for two hours, holding up a large part of the traffic of city, until the ban was removed. On another occasion the police announced the prohibition of a procession and demonstration planned for the evening. Congress volunteers went round the city announcing that nevertheless it would take place. Thirty thousand people gathered together. Faced by the police, the greater part of the crowd squatted on the ground; sections of it proceeded to the meeting-place by side streets. Shortly after midnight, when the demonstrators had been squatting for over three hours, the police were withdrawn. The people immediately rose and began their march. The reports tell of the remarkable spectacle of a crowd of 25,000 passing through the silent streets at midnight, and of the vast demonstration held in the early hours of the morning under the stars. It was this astonishing combination of resignation and determination which made the task of the authorities almost impossible. A riot they could quell; but how could this quiet strength be overcome?

Even women who lived in strict *purdah* come openly into the streets and take part in the campaigns with almost reckless abandon. "This is the first time since the days of Rani Lakshmi Bai, our great woman warrior-ancestor," said Srimati Satyavati, one of the women leaders at her trial at Delhi, "that we have abandoned our homes and children to redeem our Motherland from foreign bondage, and neither the threat of the dungeons nor of bullets and the merciless beatings can deter us from the duty which we owe to ourselves and the coming generations. I and thousands of my sisters are ready to suffer, but we must win India's freedom." Satyavati was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for refusing to give a security of good behaviour. After Mr. Gandhi and a second leader of the salt raids at Dharasana had been arrested, Sarojini Naidu, the famous poetess, assumed the leadership, only to be imprisoned in her turn. Day after day in Bombay 500 women picketed the shops which were selling foreign cloth. In all parts of India women took part in campaigns with similar spirit.

One of the areas where martial law was enforced was Sholapur, in the Bombay Presidency. National volunteers began to cut down palm-trees used for extracting toddy, the intoxicating liquor mostly drunk. They were stopped by the police, and the crowd was ordered to disperse. When the people stood their ground, the order to fire was given. Then the crowd got out of hand. Six police stations, the magistrate's court, and all the liquor-shops except one were burned down. In the shooting, 25 Indians were killed and 100 injured.

The most alarming reports were distributed of Indian brutality. One British news agency telegraphed that "two policemen were beaten to death, and their bodies were soaked in kerosene and burnt in the public square." This report appeared in practically every daily newspaper in England. *The Times* Simla correspondent went still further. He referred to the "magnificent loyal police, fighting against odds, who were tied together and burned alive." A week later the Government of Bombay issued an official *communique* as follows: "Nearly all the rumours of hideous brutalities by the mob which have been freely circulated are without foundation. It is not true that policemen were tied together and burned alive, nor that one had his eyes gorged out, nor is there any suspicion whatever that two were thrown into a well. It is hoped that all missing policemen will yet be found."

The following day there was a complete *hartal* in Sholapur. The mill-workers stopped work in a body and all the shops were closed. Meetings of more than five persons were prohibited, but processions of 50,000 people were nevertheless held. When lorries of police and soldries arrived the people crowded for a few minutes into the nearest buildings, and then poured into the streets again as soon as the lorries had passed. The police were so unnerved that they declined to continue on duty, and for a time the Congress had to depute their own volunteers to act as policemen. Then the military took charge, martial law was proclaimed, the wearing of Congress emblems was prohibited, and a curfew order issued preventing people from leaving their houses between the hours of 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. The Congress Committee declined to recognise the authority of these orders; the Congress office was raided, papers seized, and the Chairman and Secretary arrested. On the first curfew evening a large number of Indians went openly into the streets. Two hundred were arrested and detained for the night, the ring-leaders being kept for trial.

The military sought to enforce their authority by the severity of the sentences they imposed. A court martial sentenced the President of the Municipality to six month's rigorous imprisonment and fined him 10,000 rupees (£750) for refusing to haul down the Indian Nationalist flag from the municipal buildings.

Some indication of what would have happened had the Indian Nationalists deliberately resorted to the method of violence was given by the Chittagong revolt. In Bengal there was a small group of physical-force revolutionists, who carefully organised an attack upon the British armoury at

Chittagong. One night a stream of cars drove up and a man, dressed as a British sergeant, alighted. The two sentries mistook him for a British officer and saluted. They were shot dead. A sergeant, on hearing the firing, rushed out from his bungalow. He, too, was shot dead. The door of the armoury was then forced open and the armoury raided by forty men, who, having seized rifles and revolvers, set fire to the building. Another British sergeant drove up in a taxi-cab. He and the driver were shot dead. Meanwhile, a second armoury was seized, A band of men in *khaki* jumped out of motor-cars, shot the sentry, seized the rifles and revolvers, and also set fire to the building.

The detailed planning of the attack was shown by the simultaneous raid upon the telephone exchange and the telegraph office by another party of *khaki*-clad men. The telephone operator was drugged, the telephone switch-board was set alight, and the building only saved by the appearance of a force of guards. The raiders were finally driven off by the arrival of a strong contingent of troops with a Lewis gun. This incident stands out almost alone, but it is significant of what might have occurred throughout India if the Irish model of Mr. De Valera, rather than the philosophy of Mr. Gandhi, had been followed.

At first, the support of the Sikhs was limited to the Akalis in the Punjab and one or two smaller bodies, but the decision of the Central Sikh League to participate in the campaign meant that virtually the whole Sikh community had joined the Nationalist ranks. The authorities made the stupid mistake of arousing Sikh antagonism by sending troops to search the Gurdwara, a Sikh sacred building in Delhi, and firing with resulting casualties.

The Parsees were almost to a man behind Mahatma Gandhi. A procession of 50,000 Parsees, including 2,000 women, marched through the streets of Bombay behind banners, declaring "No compromise without Gandhi."

A similar enthusiasm was to be found among the peasants, again particularly of Northern India. The tax strike of the 80,000 peasants of Bardoli in 1928 was a symptom of their new self-reliance and resolution; mass *Satyagraha*. As soon as the ban was lifted, about 30,000 peasants broke the law in that one place alone."

Indeed, it is near the truth to say that the entire Indian population that is vocal, except the landlords and the official classes and certain capitalist interests frightened by the developing proletarian character of the Congress, were behind Gandhi. The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry had insisted that Mr. Gandhi must be invited to the Round Table conference and that Dominion status must be the minimum concession. The Indian Exchanges and business houses of Bombay were the first to close when a *hartal* was declared. The Indian medical profession had been driven into Nationalism by the stupid decision of the British Medical Association not to recognise Indian degrees. The legal profession was overwhelmingly Nationalist Indeed, the British authorities had only been able to claim the support of one representative deputation, and that had been from the Moslem *Zamindars* (landlords) of the Punjab. To the loyal expressions of this deputation, the Government could add memorials from the landowning classes of Bombay and Calcutta and from the Marwar merchants of Calcutta. It had been a case of the British authorities and the Indian landlords against the rest of the Indian people.

The Civil Disobedience Movement was met by large scale arrests. According to an official statement in the Legislative Assembly, in the two months from April 16th to June 15th a total of 4,377 persons were convicted in connection with the campaign. Of these, 1,229 were in Madras, 1,157 in Bengal, 761 in Bombay, and 483 in Bihar and Orissa. The large number of convictions in the Madras and Bengal Presidencies was noteworthy, because it was alleged that the movement was weak there. The sentences varied from one month to two years, and, in a few cases, to longer periods. Rigorous imprisonment (the severest form) was often imposed.

During the first three months of the campaign most of the well-known leaders were arrested. They included (in addition to Mr. Gandhi) Mr. Motilal Nahru. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, three of Mr. Gandhi's sons, Mr. Abbas Tayabji, and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. When the Working Committee of the National Congress was declared an "unlawful assembly," its members were arrested one after the other.

It was thought that the arrest of the leaders would lead to the disorganisation of the movement; but, as soon as one leader was taken, another of equal courage took his place; as soon as one committee was destroyed, another of equal resolution sprang into being.

The Press Ordinance meant the practical closing down of the Nationalist press. When the Ordinance was first promulgated, Gandhi opposed the payment of the deposits demanded. "If we have decided to hand over our bodies without a murmur ro the authorities,' he said, 'let us all be equally ready to hand over our property to them; but do not let us sell our souls. I would therefore urge pressmen and publishers to refuse to furnish the security and, if called upon to do so, either to cease publication or to challenge the authorities to confiscate whatever they like. They may conficate type and machinery but what they can never confiscate, and what, after all, is the thing that matters, is the thought of the nation."

The Working Committee of the National Congress also urged refusal of security, and most of the papers supporting the Congress followed this advice and closed down.

They all closed down. At the end of June 5,000 rupees were demanded from the press which printed Gandhi's organ, *Young India*, and a vernacular weekly, *Navajivan*. The security was refused, and the papers were cyclostyled.

America had received an enquiry from its Lahore correspondent: "Are you receiving my *daily* despatches?" The last message had been received four days before, and in sixteen days only five had been received. The Director of the U.P.A. had gone to India in order to assure the agency's European and American clients that its Indian news was accurate. He had sent a 400-word cable about the Dharasana salt disturbances, but only 132 words had been received, the Bombay Government having cancelled the rest. "The natural assumption is that things are much worse than the journalists are permitted to report," commented Mr. Scripps.

As the campaign proceeded, the boycott of British goods proved one of the most formidable weapons used by the Nationalist Movement. Mr. Malaviya, the influential leader of the Nationalists, the Right Wing of the Congress, concentrated upon this aspect of the campaign, and he was afterwards strongly supported by Mr. V. J. Patel, the ex-Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Patel's resignation of the speakership was one of the sensations of the early stages of the movement.

"It is attributable chiefly to the attitude of the supporters of the Nationalist Movement, who have, since the beginning of Mr. Gandhi's campaign, pressed for a boycott of British goods, whilst advocating the wearing of native-spun cloth. Foreign cloth shops in most of the large towns have been continuously picketed, and it has been difficult for importers even to honour contracts made with Lancashire before the outbreak of the movement,"stated Reuter's Correspondent.

A decrease of imports by nearly a quarter was sufficiently serious, but the campaign had only begun to gather momentum in May. Reporting that there had been a loss of £ 795,000 in the Customs revenue for the three months ending in June, Sir George Schuster, the Finance Minister, pointed out in the Legislative Assembly that the full effect of the Civil Disobedience Movement had not even been felt by the end of June. This boycott campaign was likely to be one of the decisive factors in securing a modification of the British attitude towards India, because its effect on unemployment and loss of trade was certain to create a strong demand for a settlement in industrial circles.

In the height cf the campaign, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Motilal Nehru both made statements—the former from within prison, the latter on the eve of prison—re-affirming their readiness to confer with British representatives, if India's right to full self-government was recognised.

Gandhi did not refuse to negotiate with the words—"my life has been nothing but a record of settlements"—he put forward the following terms:

1. The terms of reference to the Round Table conference to include the framing of a Constitution giving India the substance of independence.
2. Satisfaction to be granted to the demand for the repeal of the Salt Tax, for the prohibition of liquor, and for a ban on foreign cloth.
3. An amnesty to prisoners convicted of political offences, to coincide with the end of the Civil Disobedience campaign.

Mr. Gandhi stated that, if these three conditions were accepted, he would be prepared to leave over the remaining points in his letter to the Viceroy for future discussion.

This interview appeared in the *Daily Herald* on May 21st. A month later (June 23rd) Mr. Motilal Nehru again made an offer of negotiation. "If it were made clear," he said, "that the Round Table conference would meet to frame a Constitution for a free India (subject to such adjustments of our mutual relations as are required by the special needs and conditions in India, and by our past association), I would be disposed to recommend the National Congress to accept an invitation to participate in a conference."

"We must be masters in our hausehold," he proceeded, "but we are ready to agree to reasonable terms for a period in which to transfer power from the British administration in India to a responsible Indian Government. We must meet the British people in order to discuss these terms as nation to nation on an equal footing." If these were conceded, and a widely framed amnesty for political prisoners were granted, Mr. Nehru expressed belief that a political settlement would be possible.

There was no response on the British side to this impressively reasonable offer until July 16th when the Viceroy accepted a proposal from two Moderate leaders, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, that they should be permitted to interview Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Motilal Nehru, and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in prison, with a view to reaching the basis of a settlement. In authorising these interviews the Viceroy went further in language to meet the Indian position than he had previously done. "It remains my earnest desire," he wrote, "as it is that of my Government, and I have no doubt also that of his Majesty's Government, to do everything that we can in our respective spheres to assist the people of India to obtain as large a degree of management of their own affairs as can be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they are not at present in a position to assume responsibility."

The language was vague, but it was interpreted by the Moderates as approximating to their formula: "Dominion status with the necessary safeguards."

The Nehrus were transferred to Yeravda prison so that they might confer with Gandhi, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. V. Patel, and other imprisoned members of the Working Committee of the National Congress were allowed to join the discussion.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar conveyed a letter to the Viceroy containing the reply of the Nationalist leaders.

"Every visitor to India is impressed by the contrasts in the life of the people. Even in a city like Bombay, one sees the most primitive bullock-carts and the most luxurious automobiles side by side in the streets. This contrast, which leaps immediately to the eye, is symbolic of the deeper differences in the social and cultural standards of the people. On Malabar Hill, overlooking the bay, there are houses occupied by Indian merchants and lawyers more comfortable and pleasing than most houses in the wealtheir suburbs of British cities. Within a few miles there are tenements occupied by Indian mill-workers where whole families exist in one dark room the size of a prison cell. On the sea-front at Bombay, the Taj Mahal Hotel, owned by an Indian and largely occupied by Indians, rivals in its service and entertainment the hotels of the West of London. On the pavements outside the hotel entrance every night hundreds of Indians sleep side by side on mats.

"It is not, however, in the large cities that we can gain a knowledge of the life of the masses of the Indian people. Eighty per cent of the population are peasants in the villages. Most of these villages consist of mud huts, one family living in each, without furniture or equipment, except mats upon which they sleep and a few crude cooking utensils. There is practically no sanitation. The river-bank is used as a public latrine, and in many villages a stream running between the huts is used as an open sewer. In times of drought the insanitary conditions become appalling and give rise to devastating diseases ; even at other times there is grave danger owing to the pollution of the water. The huts are generally ill-ventilated and dark, but the feature upon which every visitor remarks is the personal cleanliness and tidiness of the people. It is a miracle how the Indian women keep their homes so free from filth when living in the midst of such conditions.

"In many of the villages there are no schools, and the only distinctive building is the temple, which is generally built of stone. The older Hindu temples are sometimes of remarkable design, with beautiful and intricate stone carvings. The Moslem temples are of more recent date, and are designed usually in the style of the mosques of Mogul.

"The people are almost exclusively employed in the ricefields or in other forms of cultivation. The men are clad only in loin-cloths, with perhaps a cloth to protect their heads from the sun. From their slight and frail figures one gets an impression of physical weakness and undernourishment. This impression unfortunately represents a tragic reality.

"A reasonable estimate of money income per head would be, for the present day, somewhere about 4½d. a day. Taking the whole population together, rich and poor, it may be said that about two-fifths of the available income (i.e. one and four-fifths of a 1d. per day) must be spent merely on the grains that form the basis of the Indian dietary—rice, millet and wheat; this or something like this) being the average condition, that of the poorest classes can be guessed. . .A very recent enquiry into the *Godavari* Delta yielded an estimate of an average income of only 1*d.* per head per day. Of these people, and of those kindred castes, on whose labour the cultivation of the rice-fields of Southern India mainly depends, it may be said generally the their earnings in grain and coin barely suffice for the subsistence of families large enough to maintain their numbers from one generation to another, the surplus offspring dying; that they are habitually hungry; and that it is only because they make their own huts in their spare time, collect their own fuel; need scarcely any clothing, and enjoy abundant sunshine, that they can subsist at all."

In this connection A. Fenner Brockway M.P.* says thus:

"The povetry of the peasants is due in the first instance to the fact that agriculture is conducted on very primitive lines and does not yield enough to meet even the physical needs of the peasant, whilst other sides of his life—social, educational, recreational—are almost completely starved. The majority of the peasants are content to secure just enough rice to keep them alive and to exist in idleness when they are not employed in the fields. The report of the Commission on Agriculture in 1928 insisted on the necessity of the villagers being taught to increase the scope of their wants as well as methods to satisfy them.

"In addition to the primitive methods of agricuiture they employ, the mere fragments of land which the peasants own and work, the imposition of high land charges, the drain of litigation, and the terrible expense of indebtedness to moneylenders, aggravate their condition of poverty.

"It is an Indian custom, on the death of the head of a family, for the property to be divided among the sons, and over a long period this has meant such a splitting up of the holdings that many of the peasant have to exist upon the products of small strips, which make economic working impossible. A further difficulty lies in the religious scruples of the peasants, which prevent the utilisation of human excrement and other forms of manure. This has meant the severe impoverishment and steady deterioration of the soil. The land does not even benefit from the manure of the cattle; the peasents have to use the cow-dung as fuel, owing to the lack of wood and coal. The custom is for the housewife to make dung-cakes, dry them on the hearth by the fire, or on the wall by the sun, and then use them herself as fuel or take them into the nearest town to sell.

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*Mr. A.F. Brockway wrote his book: The Indian crisis in 1930. I am reviewing it here.

Work on the land does not occupy anything like the full time of the peasants, and there are periods when large numbers of them go into the cities to work in the mills and factories. In the olden days a great deal of craft work was done in the villages, but the competition of factory-made goods is destroying the scope for such activities. It is to provide work during periods of idleness that Mahatma Gandhi is seeking to extend the use of the hand-weaving loom and the spinning-wheel.

About British India's harsh Land system, Brockway says:

The conditions of the peasants are made very much harder by the high rents charged for the use of land. The Government of India, as representing the British Crown, is the proprietor of most land. In some parts of India, the tenants hold their land direct from the Government, and re-assessment of the rent takes place every thirty years. This is a comparatively fair system, though sometimes, as in the case of the remarkable rent strike in Bardoli two years ago, increases in the assessments are resisted.

The system of rent collection over the greater part of India, however, is open to much graver objections. The Government rents the land to landholders, known as the *Zamindars*, who exploit the peasants cruelly. In many cases the Government has settled a permanent assessment that the *Zamindar* pays, but the *Zamindar* himself can vary his assessment of the peasant every twelve years. In these cases the *Zamindar* on the average pockets about 73 per cent of the rent for himself. In other case, the Government assesses the value of the land periodically, but even then the *Zamindar* claims 50 per cent. of the rent.

The *Zamindar* class is the most parasitic in India. It is lazy and luxurious, without any place in the social system of India except to grow rich out of the poverty of the peasant. It exacts high rents without any relation to the crops raised. The *Zamindars* generally employ paid clerks as rent collectors, who habitually exploit the peasant without mercy. They spend wasteful lives without responsibility to their estate, and their sons grow up in demoralising idleness. There are over eight millions of these exploiting landholders in India. Needless to say, the large landholders are almost invariably loyal supporters of the Government.

Another cause of the impoverishment of the peasant is the craze in India for litigation. A conservative estimate places the cost annuslly spent in lawsuits at £70,000,000 group and the peasants are the chief victims. The system under which land is split up among families gives rise to endless litigation, and the majority of the criminal case concern disputes about land.

Nearly every peasant family is heavily in debt. "It is no exaggeration to say that most cultivators are born in debt, live in debt, and die in debt," writes Mr, G.T. Garatt, in *An Indian Commentary*.

Brockway speaks about the causes of this indebtedness. "The heavy indebtedness of the peasant is also partly due to the festivals connected with marriages and deaths. It is easy to condemn such expenditure, but when the people are living the monotonous and colourless existence of the Indian peasant, it is inevitable that they should sometimes indulge in a "riot" of food, toddy (drink), flowers, processions, bright coloured materials, and cheap jewels. The provision of marriage dowries is also a frequent cause of debt.

"I find it almost impossible to convey in words how limited and primitive is the general existence of the Indian peasants. Perhaps I can best sum up by saying that the nearest European parallel I know is the existence of the peasants of Russia before the introduction of new co-operative methods by the Soviet Government. According to Sir Charles Elliott, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, one half of the agricultural population of India go hungry from day to day, not having a single square meal in the course of a whole year.

"About a million Indian workers are employed on the tea plantations. The gardens of Assam are the most important, covering about 57 per cent of the total acreage. The wages are terribly low—6¾*d.* a day for a man, 5*d.* for a woman, and 3¼*d.* for a child. The coolies are unorganised, but in 1927 a series of spontaneous strikes occurred, which led the Governnor to urge the planters to improve conditions, lest the Trade Unions came and compelled more to be done! An elaborate organisation for the recruiting of labour is maintained by the planters, costing about £20 per head. Families are often persuaded to leave villages hundreds of miles away, on assurances that the conditions will be easier, only to find that they have contracted themselves to an existence which differs little from slavery.

"The tea gardens of Assam are virtually salve plantation," wrote the authors of the *Report of the British Trade Union delegation to India in 1828*. "In Assam tea the sweat, hunger, and despair of a millon Indians enter year by year."

Brockway tells further about Industrial workers:

The housing conditions of the industrial workers are incredibly bad. Details are given in the *British Trade Union Congress Report of 1928*. A house consisting of one dark room used for all purposes—living, cooking, and sleeping—nine feet square, with mud walls and a loose tiled roof, costs 4*s.* 6*d.* a month. Four to eight persons, including children, crowd together in such a room. A group of houses provided by employers are very little better. The rent is about 3*s.* a month, although the monthly wages are only 18*s.* for men and 13*s.* for women. Either an entire family or three or four unmarried persons share one room. Outside the houses are exposed gullies, sometimes stopped up with garbage, refuse, and other waste matter, polluting the air.

However, the workers are allowed to live under scandalous conditions. In Bombay two years ago, after inspecting some magnificently equipped mills, my Indian guides took me down a narrow lane to view a *chawli* (tenement). We entered a long, low building through a dark passage, perhaps four feet wide and ten feet high. To the left and right were the mill-workers' rooms, darker and smaller than prison cells, about eight feet by nine. No family has more than one room; often two families live in one. The passage continued for about two hundred feet, a narrow tunnel, broken every thirty feet or so by a small recess, in which there were goats and chickens, and about every fifty feet by courts containing water-taps and lavatories. The lavatories consist of little boxes containing a drain for urine and a hole for excrement, removed once a day in a basket. The rent of these rooms is from4*s*. 6*d*. to 7*s*. 6*d*. a month.

"A striking feature of Indian cities is the swarm of Indians who sleep in the streets at night. One has to be careful in walking along the pavements because bodies are lying everywhere. The explanation is that in hot weather the cramped conditions in the houses and the absence of ventilation make sleeping indoors impossible. During the monsoons and rainy season, however, the Indian population is compelled to crowd into their one-roomed tenements, though many of these are so faulty that the rain pours in. I visited one *chawli* in Bombay where there were great gaps in the roof; I was told that during the monsoon a cloth is used in an attempt to keep out the deluge of rain."

The report of an investigation carried out in 1922 by the Health Officers of the Government of Bombay showed that actually 828.5 of every thousand children born in one-roomed tenements died within a year of their birth. There is no doubt that this high rate of infant mortality was due largely to the wretched housing conditions.

Another custom which had disastrous effects in many parts of India was the use of opium. It was eaten, smoked, and used as a drug for infants. The entire opium trade was a Government monopoly; it was cultivated on Government estates and distributed through shops licensed by the Government. The Civil Surgeon of the Government of Assam recommended the prohibition of opium smoking and eating, because of their terrible physical and mental effects. He reported in 1925 that 70 per cent of the population was suffering through opium habits; but the Government continued to permit a legal ration to be consumed. The possibility of lessening opium habits by the influence of education was indicated by the campaign of Mahatma Gandhi in Assam.

Mr. Brockway further tells us:

The women workers particularly use opium to drug their babies while at work. It has been authoritatively stated that 98 per cent. of the mothers in the cotton mills of Bombay use opium for this purpose. At one time the municipality actually sold opium pills and advertised their soothing qualities for babies. Fortunately this action raised such a strong protest that it was stopped; but the ruination of the children continues.

"The Government makes a very considerable revenue out of the production and sale of opium. In the province of Assam actually five-sixths of the income of the State is received from this source; indeed, the administration would be bankrupt without it. Not only Indian Nationalists, but reformers of every type oppose the exploitation of opium by the Government. It is undoubtedly one of the greatest curses from which the population in the towns suffer. There is the inevitable suspicion that motives of revenue are influencing the Government's opium policy."

About the educational condition of India in 1930 Brockway says: The Indian Ministers for Education in the Provincial Councils have endeavoured ro develop village schools, but have been severely hampered owing to the absence of finance, which is under the control of English Ministers.

"The school-teachers are often very badly paid. In the villages their salaries are sometimes less than 10*s.* a week, yet I found a number of educated Indians who were deliberately doing this work as a contribution to the advancement of their country. In one village in the Madras Presidency, for instance, I met a young schoolmaster who was an enthusiastic Nationalist and reformer, and who not only taugnt the children, but arranged classes for the adults. The schoolroom consisted of one mud hut, without any equipment except a blackboard attached to a wall. Thirty or forty children of both sexes and all ages were groupcd together, and it seemed an almost impossible task to give real education.

"Many Indian families have the ambition to educate their sons well, and often parents in hard circumstances save, borrow, or mortgage their property to send at least their eldest boy to college, The tragedy is that the course of education at the Universities is directed mainly towards providing Civil Servants, and the number of vacant posts is utterly inadequate to meet the supply. A number of the students become schoolmasters, others take ill-paid posts as clerks in commercial establishments, and a large percentage remain unemployed. This educated but underpaid or unemployed class is naturally seething with discontent."

In 1929 religious riots were reported in Bombay, with severe injuries to many Moslems; the explanation was that, when the Hindu workers at the mills went on strike, Moslems were imported to take their places, and it was this action which led to the conflict.

The tendency had been for violent out-breaks between Hindus and Moslems to increase rather than diminish. In the five years, 1923-27, about 450 people were killed and 5,000 were injured; from September 1927 to June 1928, according to a statement made to the Legislative Assembly there were nineteen serious Hindu-Mohammedan riots in which every Province had been involved, with the exception of Madras.

The explanation of the aggravation of communal feeling was sheerly political. Some of the most sectarian leaders on both sides were approaching the constitutionol problems which agitated India from a sectional rather than a national point of view.

"Another difficulty in the way of the unification of India" says Brockway "is the variety of languages" The census gave 222 languages.

. Brockway farther says:

"The Anglo-Indians are, on the whole, more anti-Indian than the British. They regard themselves as European and seek to live upon the European standard. Very often, however, they are only paid Indian wages and the struggle to exist becomes almost impossible.

"The British authorities have given special privileges to the Anglo-Indian population, partly, perhaps, out of sympathy with their difficulties, but no doubt also because their excessive loyalty has made them valuable servants. Almost all the key Government services are staffed by Anglo-Indians. The essential parts of the railway services, for instance, are almost entirely manned by them. Indians may be porters, but practically all the engine-drivers, guards, and clerks are Anglo-Indians. In a similar way; the postal and telegraph services are practically monopolised by Anglo-Indians and the nursing staff in the Government hospitals is 80 per cent. Anglo-Indian."

The British administration in India, had of course, had certain substantial results of value. First and foremost, I would place the development of irrigation, which had made a great difference to the productivity of the land and had brought security to thousands and thousands who were previously the playthings of climatic conditions.

Community in India, and the benefit of the vast outlay had gone in large measure to the people themselves. At the same time, the net profit to the Provincial Governments alone is over £ 1,000,000 a year.

The second important contribution has been the linking up of India by a modern railway system. The railways mostly owned by the State connected up all the large cities and the intervening villages.

Recognition was also to be given to the contribution of the British administration in providing medical facilities and public health services.

Finally, under the British rule an administratian of justice had been developed which, on the whole, except in racial cases, was impressively just in its dealing between man and man, whatever his caste and religious community.

The British Government built up an extraordinarly efficient machine for the maintenance of law, the collection of the revenue, and the defence of the country; but this machine contributed practically nothing to the improvement of the standard of life of the masses of the people. Of the national revenue raised from the Indian people by taxation, one-third was expended on the maintenance of the British and Indian armies in India, and one-third on the maintenance of the Civil Service, which was manned in most of its higher posts by Englishmen. Only about one-four teenth was spent on education, one-twenty-eighth on health, and about one-twentieth upon agricultural re-organisation and other "transferred" subjects.

I have tried to be scrupulously fair in this account of conditions of India, I have not glossed over the defects which arose from Indian traditions any more than I have hidden the defects of the British administration. It will be clear that India required much more than a political revolution, changing its government from British to Indian hands. It required a mental revolution finding expression in the repudiation of many of its customs and its castes, and a social and economic revolution, overthrowing its land system, applying co-operation to its agriculture, and controlling the development of its industrialisation so that further thousands of its people did not become half starved wage slaves.

The British influence had directly caused the ignorance and poverty and social injustice which abound; the indictment rested on the fact that the British administration failed completely to change the conditions of the people.

The most serious effect of British rule had been the breaking of the spirit of the people. They had been kept in bondage, a subject race. The failure to provide education had been the worst offence. That only one out of every fourteen people should be literate after long period of British rule is itself an indictment which nothing can excuse. The miserable poverty of the masses—the fact that, according to Sir William Hunter (ex-Director of Indian statistics), forty millions of Indians passed through life with only one meal a day—It was a terrible condemnation of the failure of the administration to encourage the proper organisation of agriculture and industry, or to revise the iniquitous land system and prevent Capitalism from introducing inhumanities as terrible as those which accompanied the beginning of the industrial revolution in Britain one hundred and fifty years ago.

13 *Cripps Mission*

A Cabinet committee began in late February 1942 an intensive study of the Indian situation. It consisted of Mr. Attlee in the chair, Lord Simon, Sir John Anderson, Sir James Grigg, Mr. L. S. Amery and Sir Stafford Cripps. All had experience of Indian affairs by personal residence or investigation in India. The defence of India had now become a matter of prime importance to the opponents of Japan, so much so that in that same month Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek visited Indian politicians in an attempt to convince them of the need to stand, with China, against the Japanese.

The Cabinet committee produced a draft Declaration which set out in clear and precise terms a progression towards self-government in India which would come into being upon the cessation of hostilities, and which offered the leaders of Indian politics participation in the government of India forthwith, subject only to the retention by the British Government of "control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort." Mr. Churchill put the project to the House of Commons on March 11, 1942. He told the House that the War Cabinet had agreed unitedly on conclusions for present and future action. He went on: "We had thought of setting forth immediately the terms of this attempt, by a constructive British contribution, to aid India in the realisation of full self-government; we are, however, apprehensive that to make a public announcement at such a moment as this might do more harm than good. We must first assure ourselves that our scheme would win a reasonable and practicable measure of acceptance, and thus promote the concentration of all Indian thought and energies upon the defence of the native soil. We should ill serve the common cause if we made a declaration which would be rejected by essential elements in the Indian world, and which provoked fierce constitutional and communal disputes at a moment when the enemy is at the gates of India."

"Accordingly, we propose to send a member of the War Cabinet to India, to satisfy himself on the spot, by personal consultation, that the conclusions upon which we are agreed, and which we believe represent a just and final solution, will achieve their purpose. My right hon. and learned friend the Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House has volunteered to undertake this mission. He carries with him the full confidence of His Majesty's Government and he will strive in their name to procure the necessary measure of assent, not only from the Hindu majority, but also from those other great minorities, amongst which the Moslems are the most numerous and on many grounds pre-eminent."

Sir Stafford Cripps went out to India carrying the draft Declaration with him. He did not go as a plenipotentiary to negotiate the terms of an agreement; he went as a British Cabinet Minister to explain and clarify the terms of a statement of policy that could not be altered. He had therefore to win, if he could, the Indians to the acceptance of the document he brought with him, and to do this he had to exercise their fears and suspicions of the British Government; he had to convince them that this was a genuine offer carrying a firm and irrevocable promise for the future of India. Cripps himself knew very well the difficulties that faced him, and he therefore began his mission in Delhi with the unprecedented step of a Press Conference attended by the journalists of India at which he made a plain statement of his purpose in India:

"I have come to India to discuss with the leaders of Indian opinion conclusions which the War Cabinet have unitedly reached in regard to India. I am here to ascertain whether these conclusions will, as we hope, be generally acceptable to Indian opinion. Obviously it would not be appropriate for me to say anything further about the precise nature of the proposals at this stage beyond the indications which were given by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. Their chief object is to set out finally and with precision the practical steps which His Majesty's Government propose as the method of fulfilling their past promise of self-government to the Indian peoples. We believe that a generally acceptable line of practical action can be laid down now, and that thus the main obstacle to India's full co-operation in her own defence will have been removed. We feel confident that, with the political atmosphere thus clarified, the leading political organisations will be enabled to put forward their maximum effort in preserving their country from the brutalities of aggression. How best their effective participation in the counsels of their country can be immediately arranged will be another matter for discussion.

"I have come here because I am, as I have always been, a great friend and admirer of India and because I want to play my part as a member of the War Cabinet in reaching a final settlement of the political difficulties which have long vexed our relationships. Once these questions are resolved, and I hope they may be quickly and satisfactorily resolved, the Indian peoples will be enabled to associate themselves fully and freely not only with Great Britain and the other Dominions, but with our great allies, Russia, China and the United States of America, so that together we can assert our determination to preserve the liberty of the peoples of the world.

"There is no time to lose and no time for long discussions. I am sure that in the circumstances of today the leaders of the main parties will be ready to take quick decisions. My intention is to stay in Delhi for two weeks, for there are many urgent and important matters to be attended to in England, and I believe that, within that time, with energy and goodwill, the essentials of success can be achieved."

Because Mr. Jinnah, leader of the Moslem League, had publicly indicated his fear that Sir Stafford was coming as "a friend of Congress," this was also dealt with plainly in that speech to the Indian Press:

"My association in the past has been more close with my friends in Congress than with the members of other parties or communities, but I am fully impressed with the need in any scheme for the future of India to meet the deep anxieties which undoubtedly exist among the Muslims and the other communities. I shall therefore embark upon my task with a mind equally open to all points of view—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and others. I believe that the proposals of the War Cabinet will appeal to the Indian leaders, since they will be the unanimous result of the deliberations of a body of people who were known in the past to have widely differing outlooks upon the Indian question."

The Viceroy's discussions with Indian leaders on political matters had always been private and Sir Stafford's open address to and questioning by the Press brought a new atmosphere to this latest attempt to settle the political problem of India. "Nobody" writes Sir Reginald Coupland "would have imagined, before it happened, that such direct and open personal relations could be established between the British Government in London and the Indian public six thousand miles away; that a British Minister would himself discuss and defend 'high policy' with that public's representatives and be ready to answer forthwith and forthright any kind of question. No wonder that there was talk that night of a breath of fresh air in Delhi." Cripps held further Press Conferences, one every other day; he also made two broadcasts to the Indian people. In two days he had discussed the declaration fully with the Viceroy, the British provincial governors and the Commander-in-Chief in India, General Wavell. He then moved from the Viceroy's house to 3 Queen Victoria Road, Delhi, with his personal staff, so that his conversations with the Indian political leaders could take place in an atmosphere less official than that of the Viceregal Lodge. He at the Viceroy's suggestion, invited Mr. Gandhi to visit him at Delhi, and two days after Cripps had seen the official Congress representatives—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Nehru—he had a long private conversation with the Mahatma. Sir Stafford's private note of this meeting runs as follws:

"On the 27th March I had a 2¼ hours' interview with Mr. Gandhi, who had come to Delhi at my request to meet me. Throughout the conversation he adopted a discouraging attitude, although he spoke entirely in friendly terms. Having explained to me that, of course, he was not now officially connected with Congress, he expressed the definite view that Congress would not accept the Declaration, owing, firstly to the provisions regarding Indian States, and secondly, those dealing with the accession or non-accession of Provinces.[1] He also (although more vaguely) questioned the retention of defence in British hands during the interim period. So far as the States were concerned, he argued that Congress could not tolerate the continued existence of autocratic States under the aegis of the British Government with the right to call on the armed forces of Britain to enforce the power of their Rulers. I pointed out that the first basis of any reform in the States' administration was the setting up of an independent British India, the influence of which would inevitably set up a movement of democratisation in the States, and said that I was certain that under a constitution of the kind envisaged it would be the object of British policy to encourage a greater amount of democratic government in the States. I asked him what his positive proposals in regard to the States were, and he said he was against any idea of compelling them into an Indian union, but would like to see them converted into independent States with no reliance on British authority, as this would accelerate the movement for transfer of power to the States' peoples. He did not wish to see the Rulers disappear immediately, but wished them to convert their States into constitutional democracies, the smaller ones being absorbed in the larger, or in the Indian Union. After a lengthy argument on this subject, I thought that he seemed to moderate his view of the document on this point.

"As regards the right of non-accession, he started by asserting that the document was an invitation to the Muslims to insist on the creation of a Pakistan. He acknowledged the great influence of Jinnah and admitted that the Pakistan movement had grown greatly in strength, but he remained firmly opposed to the division of India. I pointed out to him that the document was primarily based on the conception of a united India, and that it was only if Congress failed to come to an agreement with the Muslims in the constitution-making body that the danger of non-accession would arise. I said that I had always understood him to take the view that, if the British Government stood aside, there would be no difficulty in reaching such an agreement, and stressed my belief that such an agreement was more likely if the Muslim provinces had the option of not coming into a Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly. At the conclusion of our interview . . . Mr. Gandhi pressed me most earnestly not to publish the document. I told him it was intended to publish it, and he urged me many times not to do so."

Although Sir Stafford had a further talk with Mr. Gandhi, the argument was not reopened, and the Mahatma retired to Wardha quite clearly opposed to acceptance of the Declaration.

Sir Stafford understood from an interviewe on April 2 with Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru that, if they could be satisfied it might be possible to reach agreement, although at time Congress already moved far in the direction of rejecting the proposals.

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[5]That is, the possibility of Pakistan, which Sir Stafford had himself thought to be necessary part of new Indian constitution after his visit in 1940.

In his biography of cripps, Colin Cooke writes thus: "Cripps felt very strongly that it would be a mistake to allow a break down to come on the issue of defence alone and turned his mind to a search for a compromise that would cover the over-all direction of military operations by the War Cabinet with the organisation of a National Defence Ministry in India under an Indian. Since to seek a compromise of this kind would mean some substantial variation in the relevant clause of the draft Declaration, he sought the authority of the War Cabinet in London to develop some more specific responsibility to fall on the shoulders of an Indian Minister of Defence. In moving in this direction he had kept himself in the closest touch with the views of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, and he put the alternatives as he saw them to the War Cabinet. Lord Linlithgow and General Wavell saw no reason why there should not be an Indian Defence Minister with a defined field of authority. Though Sir Stafford Cripps himself was inclined to go further and transfer defence as a whole to an Indian government, subject to a written convention that the Defence Minister would not act contrary to the policy of the War Cabinet, he did not press this view, and recieved authority from London to pursue the idea of a limited transfer of functions. He therefore proposed to the Congress Working Committee and to the Muslim League "as a way out of the present difficulties" that (*a*) the Commander should remain War Member of the Viceroy's Council subject to the control of the War Cabinet in London, and (*b*) that a representative Indian member of the Council should take over such parts of the Defence as could be separated from the Indian War Department into a New Defence Co-ordination.

At this moment a new figure entered into the negotiations, in the person of Colonel Luis Johnson, President Roosevelt's personal representative on an American Mission on supplies for India. He had just arrived in India, and came into the conversations as a man of goodwill anxious to help, not as an official American representative. His conversations with Pandit Nehru led him to suggest to Sir Stafford that the latest proposal would be more acceptable to Congress if the new Indian Minister became in fact Defence Minister with the exception of defined functions retained by the Commander-in-Chief.

On April 10, 1942, the formal replies of the Indian leaders came in, rejecting the proposed Declaration, and the Cripps Mission was over. At his last Press Conference Sir Stafford spoke to the assembed journallists after receiving these replies: "I have most regretfully to advise His Majesty's Government that there is not such a measure of acceptance of their proposals as to justify their making a declaration in the form of the draft. The draft is therefore withdrawn and we revert to the position as it was before I came out here. Though perhaps not quite to that position these discussions have been carried on in the most frank and friendly spirit on all sides. We have acknowledged each other's sincerity in the matter, and although we must for the moment agree to differ, there is no bitterness or rancour in our disagreement."

He went on to say that "there is a very large and important agreement as to the future freedom of India," and that though the discussions were over, "they will leave their impress—a good, clear, healthy impress—which will influence the future." And he appealed for unity: "India is threatened. All who love India—as I love India and you love India—must bend their energies—each in his own way —to her immediate help. That help cannot come through discussions and differences; it must come by drawing together the diverse elements into a closely knit and common effort. That is your task; there you can help, whatever your party or community. We have tried our best to agree—we have failed. Never mind whose fault it is—let me take all the blame if that will help in uniting India for her own defence."

Sir Stafford left India for London by air the following day, and though he failed to persuade the Indian leaders to accept the draft Declaration, he felt the attempt had been worth-while. It had its moments of success, and the final outcome was not one of bitterness but of regret on both sides. Cripps came back to England with a greater admiration of the qualities of Nehru, who had come out with a firm statement in favour of Indian resistance by arms against the Japanese—an act of great political courage in the face of Mr. Gandhi's formidable opposition. He was, too, greatly impressed with his second series of discussions with Mr. Jinnah, who pledged the unwavering support of the Moslem communities in the war. Sir Stafford was able to tell his colleagues in the Cabinet that in all sincerity he was not depressed by the result; he thought the Mission had made it clear to all the world that Indian independence was now a question of time only, and the Prime Minister recognised the measure of that achievement:

Prime Minister to Lord Privy Seal, April 11, 1942

"You have done everything in human power, and your tenacity, perseverance and resourcefulness have proved how great was the British desire to reach a settlement. You must not feel unduly discouraged or disappointed by the result. The effect throughout Britain and in the United States has been wholly beneficial. The fact that the break comes on the broadest issues and not on tangled formulas about defence is of great advantage. I am very glad you are coming home at once, where a most cordial welcome awaits you. Even though your hopes have not been fulfilled, you have rendered a very important service to the common cause, and the foundations have been laid for the future progress of the peoples of India."

Colin Cooke writes thus:

"Cripps had been too near success for Mr. Gandhi's liking. He emerged from his seclusion a week or two later to take a greater part in the active deliberations of the Working Committee. He wrought powerfully to destroy the effect of the Mission; to develop civil disobedience and active interference with the conduct of operations against the Japanese; to conduct a campaign under his personal leadership which involved disorders approaching an open rebellion. And so he used his power over the Hindu masses of India in an endeavour to destory the goodwill that Sir Stafford Cripps had created by his open discussion of his mission with Indian journalists, by broadcasts in India and by his personal relations with the leaders of Congress. Though that goodwill might be clouded by the disorders, it could not be lost, for what matters in the long run are the opinions of the leaders of men. When principle and sincerity meet, a lasting result follows and that result is always for good. The Indian leaders who met Cripps in that intensive three weeks of talk and drafting never forgot the man who came to India for the British Cabinet in 1942."

The essential differences between Churchill and Cripps at that time were two—on the general direction of the war and on the method of planning it. On a number of matters of importance in administration, such as the responsibility of junior officials, arrangements for scientific staff, alterations in Committee work and similar things, Sir Stafford made a series of pertinent proposals, many of which met with the Prime Minister's full sympathy and were put into effect. But on the general direction of the war there was no such accommodation. In his last to the Prime Minister on these topics, Cripps summed up his own views:

Cripps to Prime Minister, September 21, 1942

"In my view the present method of conducting affairs is unsatisfactory and is too much on a 'hand-to-mouth' basis. When I first joined the Government you will recollect that I pointed out that in my view it was necessary to have a War Cabinet of non-departmental Ministers which could act as a central 'thinking and planning machine' in connection with the whole conduct of the war strategically, domestically and internationally. As I had been out of the country for nearly two years and had no experience of the actual machine of government as it had developed during the war, I did not then make any other precise suggestions. Since then I have done my best to familiarise myself with the organisation and administration of government and I am more than ever convinced of the necessity of such a war Cabinet.

"At the present time there does not exist any body, either political or technical, which can or does give concentrated and continual thought to all these matters. The practical effect is that problems of startegy are conceived by the War Cabinet hurriedly, without sufficient information and often in isolation. This has tended to a dispersal rather than a concentration of force. Internal problems are not kept under constant review and are hardly considered at all except when some major difficulty arises, and then a hasty solution has to be sought to the particular problem. A War Cabinet which sometimes meets only once a week and then with ten to fifteen other people present cannot really be said to be 'conducting' the war, especially when three of its seven members are not on the Defence Committee and have no knowledge of the discussions and decisions in that committee. Under such conditions it is not right, in my view, that the War Cabinet should appear to carry responsibility for the conduct of the war, since it is not in a position to discharge that responsibility. I have recounted in Appendix A to this note my views as to how the War Cabinet should operate.

"There is another major matter which I mentioned in my last note and which I have many times brought up in different forms since the very beginning of the war. That is the need to give the people some more definite prospect for the future. This is closely linked with the necessity for an alteration in the present attitude towards the finances of the war effort. I regard both these matters as having a direct and immediate bearing on our hopes for victory. So far the 'inducement' offered to greater effort has largely been financial in the form of increased wages, increased pay, larger profits, etc. For this should be substituted the inducement of service and sacrifice in the national cause. The reward should be what we are fighting for and not what people can get *now*. To the younger people especially, the question of the future is of very great importance.

"I fully appreciate and understand the view you have taken of these matters. As you have stated, if you are to run the war, you must run it your own way. As to the future, you believe that all energy must be concentrated on the immediate task in hand and you do not regard post-war arrangements as any part of that task, besides which, their discussion is apt to raise political differences, which is undesirable. Nevertheless, I feel compelled to express to you these very definite views which I hold, as I believe their adoption to be, broadly speaking, essential for the success of our war effort."

As to the second head of difference between the Prime Minister and his Leader of the House, Sir Stafford felt that there should be a War Planning Directorate independent of the Chiefs of Staff, who were concerned at once both with planning and with operations. Mr. Churchill was unable to accept this idea; he had full confidence in the Chiefs of Staff, and he was very firmly of the opinion that plans should only be formulated by those who also had the reponsibility for carrying them out. In practice, the conduct of the war was an intimate business between the Prime Minister and his Chiefs of Staff, justified in the result. But it left the War Cabinet in the dark from time to time, and Sir Stafford felt himself less and less able to interpret the Prime Minister's mind to the House of Commons because he himself was not sure of the present content of that mind. Thus these differences led to an incompatibility of mind between two men where there was a compatibility of temperament. To watch the House of Commons and opinion in the country, and to gather information from Cabinet meetings and discussions with Mr. Churchill was not enough to satisfy Sir Stafford's immense appetite for work. He wanted to put more of his thought into planning, both for the present and for the future, in an effective way. The offices of Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House did not absorb his potential of intellectual effort, and he left, therefore, that he was not making the greatest contribution to his country of which he was capable. And so, recognising that the Prime Minister must (as he said) run the war in his own way, he decided that he ought not to continue in those high offices.

Cripps to Prime Minister, Octocer 3, 1942

"In acordance with my promise when I saw you yesterday, I am writing to you about my position in the War Cabinet, which we have been discussing in the last few days. You have not convinced me that the changes which I have suggested in the central direction of the war are unnecessary. I firmly believe that alterations of that nature are essential if we are to make the most of our war potential. Such a conviction would have led me to ask you to place my resignation in the hands of H.M. the King, were it not for all the special circumstances to which you and my other colleagues have drawn my attention.

"I fully realise, however, as you have impressed upon me, that this precise moment is one of great anxiety for the country and for the Government. In such circumstances it is clear that nothing avoidable should be done during these particular critical days by the suggestion of disunity or of differences as to the central direction of the war, which might disturb the moral of our fighting men or increase our international difficulties.

"The temporary considerations seem to me to override even the necessity for the changes that I have suggested, and I therefore decided that it is my duty, in the interests of the successful prosecution of the coming operations, to delay taking further action as regards the War Cabinet until the operations are at least well launched. When the time comes I will revert to this matter.

"It is, I am sure, unnecessary for me to add that in the meantime I shall do my utmost to assist you in every possible way, and that I shall give you my most energetic support wherever and whenever I can.

"P.S.—I have shown this letter to Anthony Eden and Clem Attlee and have told the other members of the War Cabinet of the general line of my action."

Of the future, Sir Stafford said: "We now approach once again one of these critical periods of hope which occur in every great war as the prospect of ultimate victory begins to loom on the horizon. The emotions of the people are hypersensitive, they are possessed of a great longing that something better and happier shall emerge from the horrors of war, that the price of suffering which the world is paying shall secure some fundamental and dramatic change in the lot of the common man and woman. So men and women have wished and hoped in the past, but very largely those hopes have miscarried and those wishes have not materialised. You who stand now at the threshold of your lives will of necessity have a larger part to play in the progress of our country in the coming years. And I would beg of you to observe objectively the problem with which you and your generation are faced. Do not allow others to lead you astray by facile explanations dealing with the deceitfulness of politicians or the trickery of the ruling class. The problem is not so simple as that. Many of those who cast the spell in former times were absolutely sincere in their hopes and desires, but at the critical moment when they sought to implement those desires in action the opposing forces were too strong. This, I believe, was for two main reasons. The progressive forces failed to strike while the iron was hot. During the time of war when the feeling of co-operation is still strong is the moment to concert common action for the period after the war. To wait until hostilities have ceased, till the binding force of the common danger is no longer present, is to miss the chance of common agreement. Secondly, they under-estimated the support they would win from the people—the common men and women of the country—for a bold programme of change."

To understand the full significance of Cripps Mission the following article written by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in March 1942 at the special request of the Editor "Fortune" is reproduced below:

I welcome the opportunity of writing in the columns of "Fortune" on the vital problems that confront India. These problems are no longer our concern only; they are of world concern, affecting the entire international situation to-day. More so will they affect the shaping of future events.

Whether we consider them from the point of view of the terrible world conflict that is going on, or in terms of the political, economic, and commercial consequences of this war, the future of 400 million human beings is of essential importance. These millions are no longer passive agents of others submitting with resignation to the decrees of fate. They are active, dynamic, and hungering to shoulder the burden of their own destiny and to shape it according to their own wishes.

The Indian struggle for freedom and democracy has evoked a generous response from many an American, but the crisis that faces us all is too urgent for us merely to trade in sympathy or feel benevolent towards each other. We have to consider our major problems objectively and almost impersonally and endeavour to solve them, or else these problems will certainly overwhelm us, as indeed they threaten to do. That has been the lesson of history and we forget it at our peril. It is, therefore, not merely from a humanitarian point of view, though humanitarianism itself is good, but rather in the objective spirit of science that we should approach our problems.

The next hundred years, it has been said, are going to be the century of America. America is undoubtedly going to play a very important role in the years and generations to come. It is young and vital and full of the spirit of growth. The small and stuffy countries of Europe, with their eternal conflicts and wars, can no longer control the world. Europe has a fine record of achievement of which it may well be proud. That achievement will endure and possibly find greater scope for development when its accompaniment of domination over others is ended.

If the next century is going to be the century of America, it is also going to be the century of Asia, a rejuvenated Asia deriving strength from its ancient cultures and yet vital with the youthful spirit of modern science.

Most of us are too apt to think of Asia as backward and decadent because for nearly two hundred years it has been dominated by Europe and has suffered all the ills, material and spiritual, which subjection inevitably brings in its train. We forget the long past of Asia when politically, economically, and culturally it played a dominant role. In the long perspective the past two hundred years are just a brief period that is ending, and Asia will surely emerge with new strength and vitality as it has done so often in the past.

One of the amazing phenomena of history is the way India and China have repeatedly revived after periods of decay, and how both of them have preserved the continuity of their cultural traditions through thousands of years. They have obviously had tremendous reserves of strength to draw upon. India was old when the cilivilization of Greece flowered so brilliantly. Between the two there was intimate contact and much in common, and India is said to have influenced Greece far more than Greece did India. That Grecian civilization, for all its brilliance, passed away soon, leaving a great heritage, but India carried on and her culture flowered again and again. India, like China, had more staying power.

Asia is no suppliant for the favours of others, but claims perfect equality in everything and is confident of holding her own in the modern world in comradeship with others.

The recent visit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and Madame Chiang to India was not only of historic significance but has given us a glimpse of the future when India and China will co-operate for their own and the world's good. The Generalissimo pointed out a remarkable fact: that India and China, with a common land frontier of 3,000 kilometres, had lived at peace with each other for a thousand years, neither country playing the role of aggressor, but both having intimate cultural and commercial contacts throughout these ages. That in itself shows the peaceful character of these two great civilizations.

Keeping this background in mind, it will be evident how unreal and fantastic is the conception of India as a kind of colonial appendage or offshoot of Britain, growing slowly to nationhood and freedom as the British dominions have done. India is a mother country, which has influenced in the past, vast sections of the human race in Asia. She still retains that storehouse of cultural vitality that has given her strength in the past, and at the same time has the natural resources, the scientific, technical, industrial and financial capacity to make her a great nation in the modern sense of the word. But she cannot grow because of the shackles that tie her down, nor can she play her part, as she should, in the war crisis to-day. That part can be a great one not only because of the manpower at India's disposal but because given a chance, she can rapidly become a great industrial nation.

The world war is obviously part of a great revolution taking place throughout the world. To consider it in only military terms is to miss the real significance of what is happening. Causes lie deep, and it would be foolish to imagine that all our present troubles are due to the vanity and insatiable ambition of certain individuals or peoples. Those individuals or peoples represent evil tendencies. But they also represent the urge for change from an order that has lost stability and equilibrium and that is heartily disliked by vast numbers of people. Part of the aggressors' strength is certainly due to their challenge to this old system.

To oppose these inevitable changes and seek to perpetuate the old, or even to be passive about them, is to surrender on a revolutionary plane to the aggressor countries. Intelligent people know these aggressors are out to impose tyranny far worse than any that has existed, and therefore they should be opposed. To submit to them is to invite degradation of the worst type, a spiritual collapse far worse than even military defeat. We see what has happened in Vichy-France. We know what has happened in Central Europe and in Northern China. And yet that fear of a possible worse fate is not enough, and certainly it does not affect the masses of population who are thoroughly dissatisfied with their present lot. They want some positive deliverance to shake them out of their passivity, some cause that immediately affects them to fight for. A proud people do not accept present degradation and misery for fear that something worse may take its place.

Thus the urgent need is to give a moral and revolutionary lead to the world, to convince it that the old order has gone and a new one really based on freedom and democracy has taken its place. No promises for the future are good enough, no half-measures will help; it is the present that counts, for it is in the present that the war is going to be lost or won, and it is out of this present that the future will take shape.

President Roosevelt has spoken eloquently about this future and about the Four Freedoms, and his words have found an echo in millions of hearts. But the words are vague, and do not satisfy, and no action follows those words. The Atlantic Charter is again a pious and nebulous expression of hope, which stimulates nobody, and even this, Mr. Churchill tells us, does not apply to India.

If this urgent necessity for giving a moral and revolutionary lead were recognised and acted upon, then the aggressor nations would be forced to drop the cloak that hides many of their evil designs, and new forces of vast dimensions would rise up to check them. Even the peoples of Europe now under Nazi domination would be affected. But the greatest effect would be produced in Asia and Africa. And that may well be the turning point of the war. Only freedom and the conviction that they are fighting for their own freedom can make people fight as the Chinese and Russians have fought.

We have the long and painful heritage of European domination in Asia. Britain may believe or proclaim that she has done good to India and other Asiatic countries, but the Indians and other Asiatics think otherwise, and it is after all what we believe that matters now. It is a terribly difficult business to wipe out this past of bitterness and conflict, yet it can be done if there is a complete break from it, and the present is made entirely different. Only thus can those psychological conditions be produced that lead to co-operation in a common endeavour that release mass effort.

It was in this hope that the National Congress issued a long statement in September, 1939, defining its policy in regard to the European war and inviting the British Government to declare its war aims in regard to imperialism and democracy, and, in particular, to state how these were to be given effect in the present.

For many years past the Congress had condemned Fascist and Nazi doctrines and the aggressions of the Japanese, Italian and German governments. It condemned them afresh and offered its co-operation in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

But it is stated: "If the war is to defend the '*status quo*' of imperialist possessions and colonies, of vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee is convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or world democracy. But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy for India, or elsewhere, and imperialism and fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions and establish full democracy in India, and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination to frame their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference, and must guide their own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation."

That offer was made two and half years ago and it has been repeated in various forms subsequently. It was rejected—and rejected in a way that angered India. The British Government has made it clear beyond a doubt that it clings to the past; and present and future, in so far as British can help it, will resemble that past. It is not worthwhile to dwell on the tragic history of these two and a half years that have added to our problems and the complexity of the situation. Events have followed each other in furious succession all over the world and, in recent months, parts of the British Empire have passed out of England's control. And yet, in spite of all this, the old outlook and methods continue and England's statesmen talk the patronizing language of the nineteenth century to us. We are interested in the defence of India from external aggression but the only way we could do anything effective about it is through mass enthusiasm and mass effort under popular control.

We cannot develop our heavy industries, even though wartime requirements shout for such developments, because British interests disapprove and fear that Indian industry might compete with them after the war. For years past Indian industrialists have tried to develop an automobile industry, aeroplane manufacture and shipbuilding—the very industries most required in wartime. The way these have been successfully obstructed is an astonishing story. I have been particularly interested in industrial problems in my capacity as Chairman of the National Planning Committee. This Committee gathered around it some of the ablest talent in India—industrial, financial, technical, economic, scientific—and tackled the whole complex and vast problem of planned and scientific development and co-ordination of industry, agriculture, and social services. The labours of this Committee and its numerous sub-committees would have been particularly valuable in wartime. Not only was this not taken advantage of but its work was hindered and obstructed by the government.

Two and a half years ago we had hoped to be able to play an effective role in the world drama. Our sympathies were all on one side, our interests coincided with these. Our principal problem is after all not the Hindu-Muslim problem, but the planned growth of industry, greater production, juster distribution, higher standards, and thus gradual elimination of the appalling poverty that crushes our people. It was possible to deal with this as part of the war effort and co-ordinate the two thus making India far stronger, both materially and psychologically to resist aggression. But it could only have been done with the driving power that freedom gives. It is not very helpful to think of these wasted years, now that immediate peril confronts us and we have no time, as we had then, to prepare for it. We may have to meet this peril differently now, for in no event do we propose to submit to aggression.

It is said that any transfer of power during wartime involves risks. So it does. To abstain from action or change probably involves far greater risks. The aggressor nations have repeatedly shown that they have the courage to gamble with fate, and the gamble has often come off. We must take risks. One thing is certain—that the present state of affairs in India is deplorable. It lacks not only popular support but also efficiency.

The people who control affairs in India from Whitehall or Delhi are incapable even of understanding what is happening, much less of dealing with it.

We are told that the independence of Syria is recognised, that Korea is going to be a free country. But India, the classic land of modern imperialist control, must continue under British tutelage. Meanwhile daily broadcasts from Tokyo, Bangkok, Rome, and Berlin in Hindustani announce that the axis countries want India to be independent. Intelligent people know how false this is and are not taken in. But many who listen to this, contrast it with what the British Government says and does in India. We have seen the effect of this propaganda in Malaya and Burma. India is far more advanced politically and can, therefore, resist it more successfully. She is especially attracted to China and has admired the magnificent resistance of the Russian people. She feels friendly towards the democratic ideals of America. But with all that she feels helpless and frustrated and bitter against those who have put her in present position.

Some of the problems are of our own making; some of British creation. But whoever may be reponsible for them, we have to solve them. One of these problems, so often talked about, is the Hindu-Musilm problem. It is often forgotten that Muslims like Hindus also demand independence for India. Some of them (but only some) talk in terms of a separate state in the North-West of India. They have never defined what they mean and few people take their demand seriously, especially in these days when small states have ceased to count and must inevitably be parts of a large federation. The Hindu-Muslim problem will be solved in terms of federation but it will be solved only when British interference with our affairs ceases. So long as there is a third party to intervene and encourage intransigent elements of either group, there will be no solution. A free India will face the problem in an entirely different setting and have no doubt, solve it.

What do we want? A free democratic, federal India, willing to be associated with other countries in larger federations. In particular, India would like to have close contacts with China and Soviet Russia, both her neighbours, and America. Every conceivable protection, guarantee and help should be given to our minority groups and those that are culturally or economically backward.

What should be done now? It is not an easy questlon for what may be possible to-day becomes difficult tomorrow. But this war is not going to end soon, and what happens in India is bound to make a great difference. The grand strategy of war requires an understanding of the urges that move people to action and sacrifice for a cause. It requires sacrifice not only of lives of brave men but of factual prejudices, of inherited conceptions of political or economic domination and exploitation of others, of interests, of small groups that hinder the growth and development of others. It requires conception and translation into action, in so far as possible, of the new order based on the political and economic freedom of all countries, of world co-operation, of free peoples, of revolutionary leadership along these lines, and of capacity to dare and face risks. What vested interests are we going to ptotect for years to come when the interests of humanity itself are at stake to-day? Where are the vested interests of Hong Kong and Singapore?

It is essential that whatever is to be done is done now. For it is the present that counts. What will happen after the war nobody knows, and to postpone anything till then is to admit bankruptcy and invite disaster.

I would suggest that the leaders of America and Britain declare: First, that every country is entitled to full freedom and to shape its own destiny, subject only to certain international requirements and their adjustment by international co-operation. Second, that this applies fully to countries at present within the British Empire, and that India's independence is recognized as well as her right to frame her own constitution through an assembly of her elected representatives, who will also consider her future relations with Britain and other countries. Third, that all races and peoples must be treated as equal and allowed equal opportunities of growth and development. Individuals and races may and do differ, and some are culturally or intellectually more mature than others. But the door of advancement must be open to all; indeed those that are immature should receive help and encouragement. Nothing has alienated people more from the Nazis than their racial theories and the brutal application of these theories. But a similar doctrine and its application are in constant evidence in subject countries.

Such a declaration clearly means the ending of imperialism everywhere with all its dominating position and special privileges. That will be a greater blow to Nazism and Fascism than any military triumph, for Nazism and Fascism are an intensification of the principle of imperialism. The issue of freedom will then be clean and clear before the world and no subterfuge or equivocation will be possible.

But the declaration, however, good, is not enough, for no one believes in promises or is prepared to wait for the hereafter. Its translation into present immediate practice will be the acid test. A full change-over may not be immediately possible, yet much can be done now. In India a change-over can take place without delay and without any complicated legal enactments. The British Parliament may pass laws in regard to it or it may not. We are not particularly interested, as we want to make our own laws in the future. A provisional National Government could be formed and all real power transferred to it. This may be done even within the present structure, but it must be clearly understood that this structure will then be an unimportant covering for something that is entirely different. This National Government will not be responsible to the British Government or the Viceroy but the people, though of course it will seek to co-operate with the British Government and its agents. When opportunity offers in the future, further changes may take place through a constituent assembly. Meanwhile it may be possible to widen the basis of the present central assembly to which the provisional National Government will be responsible.

If this done in the central Government, it would not be at all difficult to make popular Government function in the Provinces where no special changes are necessary and the apparatus for them exists already.

All this is possible without upsetting too suddenly the outer framework. But it involves a tremendous and vital change, and that is just what is needed from the point of view of striking popular imagination and gaining popular support. Only a real change-over and realization that the old system is dead past revival, that freedom has come, will galvanize the people into action. That freedom will come at a moment of dire peril and it will be terribly difficult for any one to shoulder this tremendous responsibility. But whatever the dangers. they have to be faced and responsibility has to be shouldered.

The changes suggested would give India the status of an independent nation, but a peaceful change-over presumes mutual arrangements being made between representatives of India and Great Britain for governing their future relations. I do not think that the conception of wholly sovereign independent nations is incompatible with world peace or progress. But we do not want international co-operation to be just a variation of the imperial theme with some dominant nations controlling international and national policies. The old idea of dominion status is unlikely to remain anywhere and it is peculiarly inapplicable to India. But India will welcome association with Britain and other countries, on an equal basis as soon as all taint of imperialism is removed.

In immediate practice, after the independence of India is recognized, many old contacts will continue. The administrative machinery will largely remain, apart from individual cases, but it will be subject to such changes as will make it fit in with new conditions. The Indian Army must necessarily become a national army and cease to be looked upon as a mercenary army. And future British military establishment would depend on many present and changing factors, chiefly the development of the war. It cannot continue as an alien army of occupation, as it has been in the past, but as an allied army its position would be different.

It is clear that if the changes suggested were made, India would line up completely with the countries fighting aggression. It is difficult, however, to prophesy what steps would be most effective at this particular juncture. If the military defence of India now being carried on beyond her frontiers proves ineffective, a new and difficult military situation arises that may require other measures. Mahatma Gandhi, in common with others, has declared that we must resist aggression and not submit to any invader; but his methods of resistance, as is well-known, are different. These peaceful methods seem odd in this world of brutal warfare. Yet, in certain circumstances, they may be the only alternative left to us. The main thing is that we must not submit to aggression.

One thing is certain, whatever the outcome of this war, India is going to resist every attempt at domination, and a peace that has not solved the problem of India will not be of long purchase. Primarily this is Britain's responsibility, but its consequences are worldwide and affect this war. No country can, therefore ignore India's present and her future, least of all America on whom rests a vast burden of responsibility, and towards whom so many millions look for right leadership at this crisis in world history.

14 *World's Biggest Traitor*

Lord Wavell's sudden flight to London was one of the greatest surprises of early 1945. He had to discuss some military strategy with the gods ~~of~~ London or to fetch from them Alchemy for the political and economic ills of the starving millions of India. These were only possibilities. The whole matter was a complete secret. His departure at a time when rumours of an alleged Desai-Liaqat Pact were in the air appeared all the more significant.

Lord Wavell did not come back. Conflicting news came from London and we tossed between hope and despair, 'He is haggling on behalf of India. Amery, the staunchest die-hard of England would not come round.' One fine morning people woke up to read that Lord Wavell had returned with a constitutional plan for India. Once again speculations were rife and the leading dailies tried to 'reveal' the plan to their readers. Lord Wavell however let the cat out on the 13th June. People were crazy to know the plan that he had brought from London. It was declared that he would broadcast to the nation on the 13th June, 1945, at 8 p.m. and in that broadcast he would reveal his plan.

Lacs of people all over the country huddled around radio-sets and public loud speakers to listen to the Viceroy's broadcast. "His Excellency the Viceroy" declared the radio announcer and the listeners were all attention. Lord Wavell spoke thus:

"I have been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. . . . . My intention in this broadcast is to expain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

"This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block; but this hope has not been fulfilled.

"In the meantime, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I therefore propose, with the full support of His Majesty's

Government, to invite Indian leaders both on the Central and Provincial politics to take counsel with me with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion. The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims. It would work, if formed under the existing Constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-chief, who would retain his position as War Member. It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian Member of Council so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

"A further step proposed by His Majestry's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's Commercial and other such interests in India."

"Such a new Executive Council will, you realize, represent a definite advance on the road to self-Government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will for the first time be Indians, while an Indian wiil also be charged with the management of India's Foreign Affairs. Moreover Members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders; though their appointment will of course be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

"The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution ; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably.

"I should make it clear that the formation of this interim Government will in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement,

"The main tasks for this new Executive Council would be:—

"First to prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated.

"Secondly, to carry on the Government of British India with all the manifold tasks of post-war development, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force.

"Thirdly, to consider, when the Members of the Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved. The third task is most important, I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier.

"I have considered the best means of forming such a Council ; and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal Lodge to advise me:—

"Those now holding office as Premier in a Provincial Government or, for Provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held the office of Premier.

"The Leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the Leaders of the Congress Party and the Muslims League in the Council of state; also the Leader of the Nationalist Party and the Europeans Group in the Assembly.

"Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognised leaders of the two main political parties.

'Rao Bahadur N. Shiva Raj to represent the Scheduled Classes.

'Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

'Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to them to-day and it is proposed to assemble the Conference on June 25 at Simla where we shall be cooler than at Delhi.

'I trust that all those invited will attend the Conference and give me their help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future.

'If the meeting is successful, I hope that we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for Ministeries to re-assume office and again undertake the tasks of Government in the Provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these Ministeries will be coalitions.

'If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council, which has done such valuable work for India, will continue if other arrangements cannot be agreed.

'But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed, if the party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of working with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards that goal, it is a considerable stride forward and a stride on the right path.

'I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the realations of the Princes with the Crown Representative.

'With the approval of His Majesty's Government, and after consultation with my Council, orders have been given for the immediate release of the members of the Working Committee of Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention as the result of the 1942 disturbances to the new Central Government, if formed, and the Provincial Governments.

'The appropriate time for fresh elections for the Central and Provincial legislatures will be discussed at the Conference.

'Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it depends on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

'India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present; thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at international conferences have won high regard for their statesman-like attitude. Sympathy for India's aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread. We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be quick; there is very much to do, there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India and as far as it lies with me will further her greatness. I ask you all for your co-operation and goodwill."

"Simultaneously a statement was made in the British Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. Significant extracts from which are reproduced:

"During the recent visit of Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell to this country His Majesty's Government reviewed with him a number of problems and discussed particularly the present political situation in India.

"While His Majesty's Government are at all times most anxious to do their utmost to assist the Indians in the working out of a new constitutional settlement, it would be contradiction in terms to speak of the imposition by this country of self-governing institutions upon an unwilling India. . . .

"His Majesty's Government are however, most anxious to make any contribution that is practicable to the breaking of the political deadlock in India. While that deadlock lasts not only political but social and economic progress is being hampered.

"It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce any change contrary to the wishes of the Major Indian communities. But they are willing to take some step forward during the interim period if the leaders of the principal Indian parties are prepared to agree to their suggestions and to co-operate in the successful conclusion of the war against Japan as well as in the reconstruction in India which must follow the final victory.

"To this end they would be prepared to see an important change in the composition of the Viceroy's Executive.

"It is proposed that the Executive Council should be reconstituted and that the Viceroy should in future make his selection for nomination to the Crown for appointment to his Executive from amongst leaders of Indian political life at the Centre and in the provinces, in proportions which would give a balanced representation to the main communities, including equal proportions of Muslims and Caste Hindus.

"In order to pursue this object, the Viceroy will call into conference a number of leading Indian politicians. The Viceroy intends to put before this conference the proposal that the Executive Council should be reconstituted as above started and to invite from the members of the conference a list of names. Out of these he would hope to be able to choose the future members whom he would recommend for appointment by His Majesty to the Viceroy's Council, although the responsibility for the recommendation must of course continue to rest with him, and his freedom of choice therefore remains unrestricted.

"The members of his Council who are chosen as a result of this arrangement would of course accept the position on the basis that they would whole-heartedly co-operate in supporting and carrying through the war against Japan to its victorious conclusion.

"The members of the Executive would be Indians with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. This is essential so long as the defence of India remains a British responsibility.

"Nothing cantained in any of these proposals will affect the relations of the Crown with the Indian State through the Viceroy as Crown Representative. . .

"In the absence of such general aeceptance, existing arrangements must necessarily continue. . .

"External Affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fail to be dealt with as part of the Defence of India) should be placed in the charge of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive so far as British India is concerned, and that fully accredited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad.

"By their acceptance of and co-operation in this scheme the Indian leaders will not only be able to make their immediate contribution to the direction of Indian affairs, but it is also to be hoped that their experience of co-operation in Government will expedite agreement between them as to the method of working out the new constitutional arrangements. . .

"None of the changes suggested will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent constitution or constitutions for India.

"His Majesty's Government feel certain that given goodwill and a genuine desire to co-operate on all sides, both British and Indian, these proposals can mark a genuine step forward in the collaboration of the British and Indian peoples towards Indian self government and can assert the rightful position, and strengthen the influence of India in the counsels of the nations."

Announcing the new proposals Mr. Amery further said:

"The offer of March, 1942, stands in its entirety. That offer is based on two main principles. First, no limit is set to India's freedom to decide her own destiny whether as a free partner in the Commonwealth or even without it. Second, that this can only be achieved under a constitution to which the main elements are consenting parties.

"These principles, if I may quote the Prime Minister, stand in their full scope and integrity. No one can add anything to them and no one can take anything away. This is an affirmation not only of our own loyal purpose but of the inescapable facts of the Indian situation. We can only transfer our ultimate control over India to a government or governments which are capable of exercising it. We cannot hand India over to anarchy or civil war. Our responsibility to the people of India themselves and indeed to the peace of the world forbids that. On the other hand we cannot impose a constitution that will break up the moment our authority is no longer there to sustain it."

Mr. Amery added: "So far no progress has been made in the direction and the internal deadlock, essentialy a deadlock as between Hindu India and Muslim India, remains unresolved. We should do wrong to be unduly impatient with Indian Political leaders for their failure to find common ground. The issues at stake are great and the differences of approach to the problem are based on convictions sincerely and strongly held . . . Meanwhile India cannot stand still. Over and above the effort still required for the war against Japan there is an immense task of reconstruction which cannot wait for the slower process of political adjustment but which at the same time calls for the whole-hearted co-operation of every community and section of the Indian people. This cannot be done without some real advance in the political field, some closer and more effective association of the organized political forces in India with the government of their country. . .

"The idea to which we have always looked is that of an all-India union in which the States would play their full part. At the same time we have also recognised the possibility that agreement between Hindus and Muslims on any form of Indian unity may be unattainable. Any interim advance, therefore, must in no way prejudge the question whether the ultimate settlement is based on a united or a divided India or affect the existing position or the future freedom of choice of the States. That means that it must be within the existing constitution, for there is no change in that constitution which would not be regarded as giving a bias in favour of one or other solution. There can be no question, therefore, of making the executive responsible, in our parliamentary sense, to the legislature. That would at once in Muslim eyes imply control of a unified India by a Hindu majority.

"Nor can there be any question of doing away with the existing power of the Governer-General to overrule a majority view of his Council if in his opinion, I quote the language of the Act, 'the safety, tranquility or the interests of British India are, or may be essentially affected' nor of his consequent responsibility to the Secretary of State and to Parliament for its exercise. That power is a power in reserve, not an instrument in normal use. So long, however, as there is no Indian constitution under which controversial issues can ultimately be resolved, it is a necessary protection for the minorities whether against immediate injury or against decisions with might prejudice the constitutional future. It is in any case a power whose main purpose is to safeguard Indian interests. That applies no less to the Viceroy's duty, in the exising constitutional position, to secure the fulfilment of our obligations towards the States."

The Secretary of State continued; "In order to emphasize this aspect of the Viceroy's position as well as for reasons of practical convenience, H.M.G. have, in connection with these proposals, decided to appoint a United Kingdom High Commissioner in India to represent particular interests of the United Kingdom. Under the present conditions there is always the possibility that the Viceroy might, on a particular occasion, be placed, in dealing with his Council, in the ambiguous and even embarrassing dual position of being both concerned, as the head of the Government of India, with the defence of Indian interests and, at the same time, with representing the specific material interests of his country. A United Kingdom High Commissioner, on the other hand, would be free as in the Dominions to discuss and negotiate with the Government of India on a footing of complete equality but also of complete frankness."

"The present Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council," he said, "are men who have played an active and distinguished part in Indian public life. They responded to the Viceroy's invitation to join him as colleagues because both as patriots and as practical men they believed that they would serve India better by assuming responsibility than by abstention. They have served India well and the value of their service and of the advance it has represented will some day be more fully recognized.

"Unfortunately, it has to be admitted," said Mr. Amery, "and the Members of the present Council would be the first to admit it, that their position is weakened by the fact that they do not enjoy the support of the main organized political parties."

"In the selection of his Council," Mr. Amery continued, "the Viceroy will be concerned to secure a balance of representation of the main communities including equal proportions of Muslims and Caste Hindus. I understand that he also intends to include representation for the Scheduled Castes, for the Sikhs and possibly for some other special interests. But the essential condition is equality in representation between the two main communities. That is indispensable to securing agreement. If however the proposals for a newly selected executive at the Centre are accepted, we would hope that ministerial government would be resumed in the Provinces, now under Section 93, on a coalition basis. Such questions as the holding of elections whether at the Centre or in the Provinces will no doubt be discussed at the Conference which the Viceroy has invited to meet him."

"We earnestly hope that our offer will meet with acceptance," Mr. Amery concluded.

The leaders who were invited to the conference at Simla on June 25 1945 were as follows:—

Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Mr. C. Rajagoplaachari (Madras), Mr B.G. Kher, (Bombay), Pandit Pant (U.P.), Pandit R.S. Shukla (C.P.)., Dr. Khan Sahib (N.W.F.T), Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha, (Bihar), Sir Mohammed Sadulla (Assam), Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytulla (Sind), Malik Khizar Hyat Khan (Punjab), Sir Nazimuddin, (Bengal).

Central Mr. Bhula Bhai, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, Dr, P.N. Bannerjee, Sir Henry Richardson, Mr. Moti Lal, Mr. Hossain Imam.

Minorities. Rao Bahadar N. Sivaraj and Master Tara Singh.

A wave of optimism ran across the length and width of the country. There was a favourable reaction to the proposals from all quarters, such as hitherto unknown in the history of Indo-British relations.

Immediately C. Rajagopalachari—the indefatigable and astute leader of India—wrote to Mahatma Gandhi urging upon the latter the necessity and wisdom of catching the opportunity offered, and exploiting it for the alleviation of the sufferings of 400 million souls of India.

The '*Times of India*' in its comments said "The proposals represent a tremendous advance along the path before Dominion Status and we do not think we are guilty of exaggeration in describing them as 'Dominion Status in Action'.

Urging acceptance of the Viceroy's invitation to the Simla conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wired to Mahatma Gandhi the following message:

"I earnestly advise you to accept the Viceroy's invitation. I have carefully analysed the scheme. It holds out the promise of early fruition of our national ambitions. A Government appointed by the conference as a whole will be supported by the Legislature and thus the existence of the veto will not affect the adoption of a beneficient policy by the popular Government. One very promising feature is the appiontment of a British High Comissioner in India. The scheme must not be rejected.

"I feel confident that you will do your best to solve the communal problem on just and fair lines. If there are any defects or deficiencies you must discuss them with the Viceroy.

Even the Indian States, the most reactionary element in the Indian politics, did not lag behind. His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Chanceller of the Chamber of Princes, while addressing the Constitutional Advisory Committee of the Chamber of Princes held in Bombay observed. "Although the States were not directly concerned at that stage in the formation of the Executive Council, the princes, however, would wish good speed to an interim National Government for British India and would co-operate with it most cordially"

He added "India is our motherland. We have a great heritage of tradition, culture and administrative experience. We yield to none in patriotism."

Sir Cowasji Jehangir, president of the Parsi Central Association sent a telegram to His Excellency expressing the Parsis' approval of the proposals. Indians in London felt great relief over the offer of Wavell plan to

India. Chinese press acclaimed the proposals and Generalisim. Chiang-kai-Shek expressed relief on Pandit Jawaharlal's release.

Message of good wishes from the United States of America for the success of Simla talks were received, and renowned journalists like Pearl Buck and Louis Fischer gave comments of appreciation on the Wavell proposals. The New York *Herald Tribune* in a leader wrote: "The British proposal on the surface is hardly revolutionary. . . The British, however, have reasserted their good faith and it would seem part of wisdom for the Indians to accept the scheme." British papers wrote leading articles urging upon the Indian leaders the need for accepting the proposals.

The scheme however was not without drawbacks. Hindus, thrice as many as Mohammedans in number, would not accept a proposal whereby they are brought to an artificial parity with the Mohammedans. Not only that. Hindu Mahasabha, the representative organization of Hindus was altogether excluded from the list of organizations represented in the conference, and no representative thereof was invited. Who was to represent the Cast Hindus cause? The Hindus were intentionally betrayed by the British Rulers of India. Mr. Jinnah was there to champion the cause of League Muslims, Rao Bahadur Sivaraj of the Scheduled Castes, Master Tara Singh of the Sikhs and so on, what about the Caste Hindus. By its very nature the Indian National Congress could not. Inspite of the fact that it included an overwhelming majority of Hindus, in its aims it was essentially a non-communal national body and had as its sole aim the independence of India in view, rather than the protection of the rights of this or that community.

It was therefore natural that Dr. S.P. Mukerjee, the president of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha should have dissociated himself from the Wavell Scheme. "There is no doubt," said he, "that the main purpose of the scheme is further to placate the Muslim League and to crush the legitimate political rights of the Hindus". It was probably too much to call the Wavell Scheme 'an outrageous plan' as Dr. Mukerjee did, but there was no doubt that the note of protest which he sounded was justifiable. Dr. S.P. Mukerjee was sure thar Lord Wavell was betraying the Hindus of India.

"The Hindu Mahasabha is the body claiming to represent solely Hindu interests" wrote Mahatma Gandhi in a telegram to the Viceroy. Use of the word 'Caste Hindus' in the Viceroy's declaration was another point to which Mahatma Gandhi took objection. The term appeared obnoxious to the Mahatma, as it implied to create an artificial rift between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes who, he believed, were an integral part of the Hindu Society. This artificial rift also showed that the Hindus were betrayed by the British.

Besides, the use of the term independence was rigorously excluded from the Viceroy's broadcast. *Vis a vis* the past policy with regard to India of the bureaucratic diplomats of London one could 'smell a rat' in this significant 'omission.' It therefore naturally aroused Mahatma Gandhi's doubts. Yet another point to which the Mahatma objected was the fact thar Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the president, hence the official spokesman, of the Congress, at the moment was not invited to the Simla Conference. Mahatma Gandhi, though he was a celebrated friend and guide to the Congress, could not represent it at the Conference in an official capacity. In reply to the invitation received from the Viceregal lodge for participation in the Simla Conference, Mahatma Gandhi sent the following telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 15th June, 1945: "Received kind wire of invitation. For reasons given in my wire sent to you last night, I have no place in your Conference. As an individual I can only tender advice. May I then say that there are no Caste and Casteless Hindus, who are at all politically minded, Therefore, the wording is untrue and offensive. Who will represent them at your table? Not the Congress, which seeks to represent without distinction all Indians who desire and work for independence. Hence the existence of Hindu Mahasabha, claiming to represent Hindus as such. I apprehend that even that body will declaim representing Caste Hindus. Moreover, broadcast seems rigorously to exclude use of the word independence. It seems to me to demand revision to bring it in line with modern Indian thought."

In the meanwhile, Mr. Jinnah the president of the muslim Legue sent a telegram to the Viceroy requsting to postpone the Conference for a fortnight or so to enable him (Mr. Jinnah) to consult the working committee of the League and to come to certain preliminary conclusions. The telegram ran thus: "Your invitation 14th. Shall be glad to meet you 24th (June) for discussing but as regards your proposals particularly Conference, require clarification which I hope will be available our meeting 24th. This will enable me consult my working committee in light of your clarification and decide upon our course of action. May I request you therefore postpone date Conference for fortnight as time fixed is too short for meeting working committee members all over India. I reciprocate your appeal for cooperation and goodwill and hope that the muslim Legue will make its contribution to any just and reasonable interim provisional settlement. please reply. Jinnah."

The political atmosphere in the country was tense with expection and uncertainty. 'Gandhi says 'he has no place in the Viceroy's Conference expect as a non-official adviser' .... 'Hindu Mahasabha has been excluded,' and Dr. Mukerjee says 'it is an outrageous plan.' 'Jinnah wants the Conference to be postponed., What now? In view of the initial complications we doubted the success of the Conference, In our heart of hearts we prayed that the political tangle be solved so that measures for the suffering humanity of India may be devised our by leaders. We were in the deepest waters of the political ocean and our thirst for freedom was extremely long. Not a single drop of water to drink.

At that hour of uncertainty H.E. the Viceroy's reconciliatory attitude and his right statesmanship steered the issue safe through the preminary difficulties and made the assembling of the leaders possible. As regards the term 'Caste Hindus' he assured Mahatma Gandhi that it was not used by him with offensive intentions and that it was just to demarcate Hindus from Scheduled Castes for technical necessities of expression. On the question of independence he drew Mr. Gandhi's attention to a para in the Secretary of State's speech in Parliament on the 14th June, 1945, running thus:

"The offer of 1942 stands in entirety. The offer is based upon two main principles: First, no limit is set to India's freedom to decide her own destiny whether as a free partner in the Commonwealth or even without it."

In addition H.E. the Viceroy sent a formal invitation to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the president, hence the authorised spokesman of the Congress.

The parity issue remained unclarified. Mahatma Gandhi, however, acquiesced and decided to join the Conference partly because the Viceroy's attitude appeared very sincere. Mahatma Gandhi felt the political pulse of the British and decided to join the Conference. Though he was sure of his opponent's betrayal yet he agreed to join.

The Congress working committee met at Bombay on June 21, and after detailed discussions decided to participate in the Simla Conference.

All the parties invited by the Viceroy had decided to participate in the Simla Conference. On the 24th day of June 1945 Railway facilities were allowed to the invitees, and accommodation etc., was arranged. Many a white skinned residents of the Cecil Hotel had to quit their seats for accomodating the Viceroy's *black guests*. Simla, the very centre of Bureaucrat and *Bara Sahibs* welcomed 'Gandhi Caps'. The Government seemed sincere and lenient.

There came Mr. Jinnah. Thousand of his followers thronged the railway station and rent the sky with loud shouts of *Leke Hatenge Pakistan. Qaide Azam Zindabad*, etc. etc.

Then came Maulana Azad and Mahatma Gandhi one after the other. Likewise thousands of Congressmen greeted them with slogans of *Congress-Zindabad, Inqilab-Zindabad.*

On June 25th at 11 A.M. the Conference assembled at the Viceregal lodge, Simla. At 11-20 A.M. the delegates moved into the Conference room and proceedings began with the Viceroy in the chair, who in his inaugural speech addressed the invitees as follows:

"Before I begin the agenda of the Conference, the outcome of which will have a momentous influence on the destiny of India, I think there are a few words I sould say to you.

"First, I welcome you all as men who by character and ability have risen to leadership in your provinces and parties. I have called you together from all parts of India at this critical moment in her history to advise and help me in advancing India towards prosperity, political freedom and greatness. I ask you to give me that help in a spirit of broad co-operation towards the good of India as a whole.

"It is not a constitutional settlement, it is not a final solution of India's complex problems that is proposed. Nor does the plan in any way prejudge or prejudice the final issue. But if it succeeds, I am sure it will pave the way towards a settlement and will bring it nearer. The statesmanship, the wisdom and goodwill of all of us is here on trial, not merely in the eyes of India but before the world.

"I said in my broadcast that on all sides there is something to forget and forgive. Wc have got to rise above the level of old prejudices and enmities of party and sectional advantage, and think of the good of India, the good of the 400 million people, and how we can best combine to implement these new proposals made by His Majesty's Government for the advancement of India, now and in the future.

"It will not be easy, and unless we can place our deliberations at a high common level, we shall not succeed. You must accept my leadership for the present. Until there is some agreed change in the constitution, I am responsible to His Majesty's Government for the good government and tranquillity of India. I ask you to believe in me as a sincere friend of India. I will endeavour to guide the discussions of this Conference in what I believe to be the best interests of this country. In front of the Viceroy's House crowned by the Star of India are engraved these words: 'In thought, faith, in word, wisdom, in deed, courage, in life, service, so may India be great.' They will make a good guide for our Conference."

Thereafter the Conference took up the discussion of the general principles underlying His Majesty's Government's proposals. The discussion continued till 5 P.M.

The next day, June 26th, Press gave it out to the public that the principles of the Wavell plan were approved and composition of the new Executive Council was discussed by the delegates.

On June 27th the delegates met at the usual time at the Viceregal Lodge. A very big excited mad crowd cheered them on both sides all along the way from Cecil Hotel to the Viceregal Lodge. They cried themselves hoarse with loud piercing slogans of *'Inqilab Zindabad,'* *'Quide Azam Zindabad'* etc. Some of the fanatic and uncompromising Muslim Leaguers scorned and jeered at their co-religionists working in the Congress spheres and called them 'traitors', 'show-boys', hirelings and what not. In spite of all these apparent differences every body present amongst the cheering crowed, as every body present amongst the country at large, desired a compromise and wished that the Conference would be a success.

The Muslim League had demanded that all the Muslim nominees to the Executive Council should be selected exclusively by it. The Congress on the other hand made it clear to the Viceroy that it could not give up its national character and become a purely Hindu organization. The discussions had come to a dead end. The leaders met for an hour only and came out.

On June 29, after a brief sitting of about 1½ hours the Leader's Conference was adjourned till July 14th. Pandit G.B. Pant a member of the Congress Working Committee and former Premier of the United Provinces had prolonged discussions with the League leader, Mr. Jinnah, but he could not bring the latter round to any settlement with the Congress.

On June 30, it was declared that attempts at a rapproachment between the Muslim League and the Unionist party of the Punjab had also ended in failure. Failure of rapproachment talks between the Unionists and the League ment that the former would insist upon sending their separate representative in the Executive Council. Lord Wavell could not ignore the war services of the Soldier Premier of the Punjab and disregard the latter's right to send a representative of his party to the proposed Council. Lord Wavell, also did not like the Conference to fail, for that would mean that all his endeavours—his flight to London, his tug of war with Amery-Churchill & others in getting concessions to India and his labours in bringing the representatives of all the parties round on one table for a solution of the Indian tangle—had ended in smoke. He therefore adjourned the Conference till the 14th July, 1945, and asked the party leaders to submit names of the representatives they wanted to send in the Executive Council with the implied understanding that as the principal parties—the Congress and the Muslim League—had failed to come to an agreement with each other, they should now rely upon the leadership of the Viceroy and leave the matter as regards the selection of Executive Councillors from the panels of names submitted by the various parties to his impartial judgment.

As soon as the Conference was adjourned, the various parties at once called for their respective Working Committees. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru cancelling all his engagements including his Kashmir programme rushed up to Simla to try to save the drowning ship of the Conference.

Working Committees of the respective political parties were incessantly 'in session' and prolonged discussions went on in the various political camps. Cecil Hotel, the abode of Jinnah & Co., and Master Tara Singh and Party; 'Manore Villa', where Gandhi was living and 'Armsdell', where Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru stayed, were the main centres of attraction of the madly cheering crowds.

'Oh! We are getting *Swarajya*' people whispered into each others' ears and some of them did not mind even shouting that. Others said: "It's only a dramatic performance."

Amidst this atmosphere of excitement, hope and dismay, came 6th July. The Congress and all other organizations were reported to have submitted their panels of Executive Councillors but the Musilm League did not. 'Just one step more,' people cried 'only if Mr. Jinnah comes round': but Mr. Jinnah did not come round. In his discussions with the Viceroy he demanded an assurance from his Excellency that Muslim League would be recognised as the sole representative body of Muslims.

He claimed the right to choose all the Muslims to the Executive Council within the Muslim quota but also that no other party except the Muslim League should be authorised to include any Muslim in its panel. Even if the Congress had allowed him to choose League nominees equal in number of the Congress nominees he could not tolerate that any other Muslims with the exception of those nominated by him, should be sent in by the Congress. He wanted an assurance that His Excelleney would select the Muslim quota only from the nominees of the League. This assurance from His Excellency, if given, would have ignored the political rights of Non-League Muslims.

The League Working Committee decided not to accept the Wavell plan and they intimated to the Viceroy that as the desired assurance did not come forth from him, they had decided not to submit any panel of League representatives to the proposed Executive Council.

Now it was a crucial moment for the Viceroy to decide whether to form a Cabinet with the co-operation of all the parties other than the League and go ahead with his task without counting upon the help of the League or to declare the Conference a failure. In fact the matters took a turn in such a manner that the League affair became more a tussle between the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah than between Mr. Jinnah and the Congress. The Viceroy wanted co-operation of the various parties of the country in his task of forming a representative interim Government. The Congress and other parties extended their assistance in a measure hitherto unknown in the history of India. Now it was for the Viceroy whether to go ahead with his task with the existing help coming forth or not.

Lord Wavell dld not proceed without the assistance of Mr. Jinnah whose proposals he could not accept publicly though in his heart of hearts his real desire was to accept them.

British diplomacy is most wonderful. They say 'yes' in place of 'no.'

There was a class of political observers who thought that in accordance with the nature and wording of the declarations made by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, agreement between the principal political parties of India was an implied condition precedent to the setting up of the interim Government. What was the necessity of appealing to Mr. Jinnah when many other Muslim organizations of India were joining the Simla Conference? The answer is " Betrayal."

In his 'good bye' speech on July 14th, declaring the Conference to be a failure, Lord Wavell spoke thus:

"I must give the Conference an account of what had happend since we adjourned on 29th June. As you know, my original intention was that the Conference should agree upon the strength and composition of the Executive Council and that thereafter parties should send me lists of names. To these lists I would, if necessary have added names of my own and attempted to form on paper an Executive Council that might be acceptable to His Majesty's Government, myself and the Conference. I intended to discuss my selection with the leaders and finally to put them to the Conference.

"Unfortunately the Conference was unable to agree about the strength and composition of the Executive Council and on the 29th June I undertook, with approval of the Conference, to endeavour to produce a solution not based on any formula agreed in advance. I asked the parties to let me have lists of names and said, I would do what I could to produce a solution acceptable to the leaders and to the Conference.

"I received lists from all parties represented here except from the European group, who decided not to send a list, and the Muslim League. I was however, determined that the Conference should not fail until I had made every possible effort to bring it to a successful ending. I therefore, made my provisional selections, including certain Muslim League names, and I have every reason to believe that if these selections had been acceeptable here, they would have been acceptale to His Majesty's Government.

"My selections would, I think, have given a balanced and efficient Executive Council, whose composition would have been reasonably fair to all parties. I did not find it possible, however, to accept the claims of any party in full. When I explained my solution to Mr. Jinnah, he told me that it was not acceptable to the Muslim League and he was so decided that I felt it would be useless to continue the discussion. In the circumstandes I did not show my selection as a whole to Mr. Jinnah and there was no object in showing them to the leaders. Nobody can regret this more than I do myself. I wish to make it clear that the responsibility for the failure is mine; the main idea underlying the Conference was mine. If it had succeeded its success could have been attributed to me and I cannot place the blame for its failure upon any of the parties.

"I ask the party leaders to accept this view and to do all they can to ensure that there are no recriminations. It is of the utmost importance that this effort to secure agreement between the parties and communities should not result in a worsening of communal feelings. I ask you all to exercise the greatest possible restraint.

"I have now to consider the next step. I must remind you that whatever happens the first two of three tasks mentioned in my broadcast—prosecution of the war against Japan and the carrying of the administration and preparation of post war development—must be performed by the Government of India for the time being in office. It will be my duty to see that these tasks are performed with the greatest energy that I can impose and I cannot permit any hindrance to them.

"I propose to take a little time to consider in what way I can best help India after the failure of the Conference. You can help best by refraining from recriminations. The war against Japan must be carried on and law and order must be maintained, and until I see my way more clearly than I do now, it may be difficult, perhaps impossible to suggest any new move. No Government can carry on under the daily prospect of change or dissolution. I have to secure the stability and day-to-day efficiency of my Government and it would be impossible to enter upon continuous or even frequent political discussions of this kind. Whatever decisions His Majesty's Government may take in the near future must, therefore, in all probability hold good for some little time.

"I thank you all for the help you have given me and for the restrained patience and understanding you have shown. Do not any of you be discouraged by this setback. We shall overcome our difficulties in the end. The future greatness of India is not in doubt."

Maulana Azad, the Congress President, who was the first to make a speech after the Viceroy, reiterated the position the Congress had taken up during the Simla parleys.

Lord Wavell rightly adjourned the conference to enable parties to come to terms but the Muslim League claimed the sole right to nominate all the Muslim representatives on the new Executive Council. This claim was untenable and the Congress could not accept this position. "I as a Muslim," declared Maulana Azad," would not tolerate the Congress becoming a purely Hindu body. The Congress had a right to claim a share for the welfare and responsibility of Muslims."

Maulana Azad went on to say that the Viceroy had said repeatedly that the Muslim League's claim to represent all Mussalmans could not be accepted in its entirety. It was therefore, clear who was responsible for the failure of the conference.

The readers may kindly understand that the then British Government could not absolve itself of its responsibility for the position that had arisen. The existence of the third party was greatly responsible for the present position. A firm attitude on the part of the Viceroy, said Maulana Azad, which was logical and based on the principle of justice and fairplay, alone could bring about a settlement of the communal problem. The Viceroy's present wavering and vacillating attitude was neither correct not helpful.

The Congress President declared that he was still optimistic and not pessimistic. He assured the Viceroy that the Congress would continue the same spirit of co-operation which it had brought to bear during the conference.

The viceroy at this stage is understood to have said that he appreciated the Congress President's observations. He assured that he would continue his effort to bring about a compromise and adjustment. Mr. Jinnah is reported to have said that while he stood for Pakistan, he could not agree to any position wherein he was not only not given Pakistan but the right of the League to represent the Muslim community was also denied.

Master Tara Singh said that Pakistan was a matter with which the Sikhs were more concerned than any other community, and therefore, they could not agree to any position under which Pakistan, was conceded. "If Mr. Jinnah was really anxious for Pakistan, he should accept the

Sikh demand of having an independent state in the Punjab." He added.

There is no denying the fact that Mr. Jinnah's obduracy was one of the main factors—for the break-down of the talks. Obdurate as he was by temperament, he did not budge an inch from the stand he had taken, even in utter disregard of the call of millions of Indians. In world history his name should he recorded as "World's Biggest Traitor."

Ridicule and laughter were provoked every where by Mr. Jinnah's claim that the Muslim League was the sole representative of the Muslim Community of India. In the elections held under the Constitutional Reforms Act of 1935, the League was completely trounced in all the Muslim Majority provinces. In the North Western Frontier Province the Congress Muslims scored a clear victory over the Leaguers. In the Punjab only two Muslim leaguers were elected one of whom 'got convert'. In Bengal the Krishak Praja Party (a Nationalist Muslim Organization) dominated the situation and in Sind the Azad Muslim Party (another Nationalist Muslim Organization) achieved Supremacy. In Assam the Congress held sway over all other parties.

After some initial shifting and shuffling—for which the lack of an appropriate Congress policy was mainly responsible—everywhere the Nationalist Muslim elements, that had come to the forefront, became stable and firmly seized power. In Assam which had also been claimed to be a League province by Mr. Jinnah, a Congress Ministry was formed with Mr. Bardoloi as the Premier. In Bengal the Krishak Praja Party came into power with the Nationalist Muslim leader, Mr. Fazal-ul-Huq, at the head of the administration. In Sind the Azad Muslims, led by that intrepid Nationalist Muslim fighter, the late Mr. Allah Bakhsh, got at the helm of affairs. In the Frontier Province the Congress Party formed a Cabinet of which Dr. Khan Saheb became the chief. And in the Punjab the Unionist Party was firmly installed on the ministerial pedestal. Everywhere the Muslim League, now claiming to be the sole representative of all the Indian Mussalmans was receded to insignificance and oblivion.

In the North Western Frontier Province the League Ministry was thrown out, and a Congress Ministry with the old veteran Dr. Khan Saheb at its head was formed. In Bengal the Muslim League Ministry was defeated, and if Section 93 had not been enforced there, a Nationalist Muslim Ministry would have been formed. In Assam the Muslim League Ministry had been replaced by an All parties ministry. In Sind the position of the Muslim League Ministry was insecure. The 'corruption and lawlessness' in the Frontier Province and 'starvation' in Bengal under the Muslim League ministries shows that Bengalees were betrayed. Followers of Mr. Jinnah had the impudence to obstruct the path of those who stood for the freedom of India as a whole,—noble souls who had sacrificed their wealth, their homes, their careers, their health, their everything for the cause of their motherland.

There was a marked difference in the very outlook of the members of the above two classes—Congress and the Muslim League. I met Rajagopalachari and he said, 'please pray for the success of the Conference. I saw a former League Premier and heard him saying '*Ham Nahin Jhukega*'.

Muslim League's claim that it represented the entire Muslim population of India was also belied by the fact that other Muslim Organizations like the Ahrars, the Nationalist Muslims, the Shias, the Momins, the Ulemas, etc. etc., had openly declared that the League did not represent them and that their support was behind the Congress, the biggest and the only National Organization, which represented the political aspirations of a subjugated India without considerations of caste and creed.

"Mr. Jinnah's totalitarian claim to monopolise Muslim seats so that Muslims who do not belong to the League go unrepresented cannot be accepted without reserve", observed Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana —Premier of the Punjab.

Dr. Khan Saheb, the congressite Muslim Premier of the Frontier Province was reported to have taken offence at Mr. Jinnah's repeated professions to be the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. It is said that while the conference was going on he stood up in anger and challanged Mr. Jinnah's authority saying 'You call the Congress a Hindu body; am I a Hindu or a Muslim?'. The League *Fuhrer* was silent and had no reply to give.

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, received the following telegram from Mr. Fazul Haq, former Premier of Bengal:

"Mr. Jinnah's claim that Muslim League members constitute as many as 99 per cent of the total Muslim members in legislatures is belied by actual facts. In 1941 I formed a National Cabinet in Bengal with representatives of all parties. Only 42 Muslim Leaguers stood aloof in opposition out of a total Muslim strength of 123 members. I maintained the strength till I resigned in March, 1943, when many of my adherents were won over by the League by most questionable methods. In the last voting in the Assembly when the League Ministry was defeated there were 51 Musilms in the opposition against 61 Muslims in the League, the rest being absentees on both sides.

"We in opposition in the Bengal Assembly fervently pray that the Viceroy will continue his efforts and go ahead with the scheme even though any single unit may sullenly refuse co-operation".

The following telegram was received by Maulana Azad, from Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, President, Nikhil Banga Krishak Praja Samiti, Leader of the Krishak Praja Parliamentary Party and ex-Minister, Government of Bengal:

"Mr. Jinnah's claim to speak as the sole representative of the Muslims of India as President of the Muslim League is fantastic. Defeated and discredited expremier Nazimuddin has no right to represent the cause of the people of Bengal. Congress will forfeit the claim to represent itself as the only national political institution if it fails to speak on behalf of nationalist Muslims of India. May Congress rise to the height of the occasion at this critical hour in the nation's history."

The Congress President received the following telegrams from Mirza Jaffar Hussain, general secretary, Bengal Provincial Momin Ansar Conference. "In consultation with Mr. Hoosainbhai A. Lalljee who is here, I invite your attention to the rights and protection of Shias, an important minority community, and refer you to my letter of October 10, 1939, addressed to the then Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and his reply of October 30, 1939, wherein definite promise was given that rights of important minority communities like ourselves would be safe-guarded and they would be consulted. None to represent Shia cause has yet been invited. Will you kindly let us know what is our position."

Mr. Khalil ul-Rehman, in his telegram said: "Five crore Momins do not subscribe to the League's policy. Mr. Jinnah cannot speak for them. The Momin community claims representation in the interim government."

Five nationalist Muslim organizations, consisting of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the All India Muslim Majlis, the All-India Momin Conference, the Anjuman-i-Watan of Baluchistan and the Independent Party of Bihar, at a joint meeting presided over by Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni, President of the Jamiat, passed the following rosolution: "This meeting . . . considers it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League is not the only representative organization of Mussalmans. In addition to the Muslim League there are other organizations of Muslims which have been working for the attainment of Indian freedom and have been making sacrifices to achieve their goal."

The Muslim League's claim to represent all Muslims was opposed in a telegram sent by Mr. Hooseinbhoy A. Lalljee, member, Central Assembly, to the Viceroy. He says: " . . . . The Shia Muslim minority find themselves utterly helpless within the Sunni Muslim Majority. All the Shia Ullemas and the Shia Majlises in several towns, districts, and provinces have made submissions to the Government that not only a very vast majority of them do not owe allegiance to the Muslim League but that they are convinced that their free exercise of religious tenets and their rights are not safe if left with the Muslim League as they are at present. The Sunni majority within the Muslim League does not guarantee the religious and other rights of the Shias but have offered to guarantee the same to the Sikhs and support the rights of the Scheduled Classes amongst Hindus.

"Shia Muslims are, therefore, in a state of consternation, and I beseech Your Excellency not to cast their lot to the winds and make them unhappy and bitter but give them protection in the fulfilment of the pledges."

"The All-India Muslim League cannot and does not represent all Muslims in India," says Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, President of the Central National Mohammedan Association in a telegram to the Viceroy. He further adds, "The National Mohammedan Association is opposed to the division of India into two independent States. It advocates Federal Constitution for the whole of India. As thousands of the Muslim are out of the League, the National Mohammedan Association demands that they may be represented in the proposed Executive Council."

Mr. Mohammed Zahir-ud-din, President of the All-India Momin Conference, in a statement challenged the claim of the Muslim League to represent all the Muslims of India saying thus: "The Muslim League represents mostly the caste and landed Muslim aristorcracy, and the poor suppressed classes in the community are as much entitled to a place in the sun as the Leaguers themselves. We have time and again repudiated Mr. Jinnah's position as the solitary spokesman and dictator of Indian Muslims. I reiterate with all the emphasis at my command our resolve to stand on our own feet and never to accept the leadership of the League, or its separatist and schismatic ideology.

"The British Government should not step down to the plane on which Mr. Jinnah has built for himself a citadel of aloofness and isolation. If any progress has to be made to loosen the Indian deadlock, Lord Wavell should go forward with his proposals."

Now about the League's demand for Pakistan or division of India in parts—'Hindu India' and 'Muslim India' which the Leaguers believed was a panacea for not only all Muslim ills but also for all communal complications in India.

If the principle of Pakistan had been conceded to the Muslim League, it would have been a folly to believe that the communal tangle had been solved. On the other hand it would have been complicated. Non-Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab, where they were in majority could not be compelled to join Pakistan. Both in the Punjab and Bengal the non-Muslims were nearly equal to the Muslims in number. If the Muslims were a separate nation and could as such claim a right to live in 'their own' state separate from that of the Hindus of whom they were so distrusful, what about the 45 percent non-Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab! If at the bidding of 22-23 per cent Muslims, India could be divided, how could the demand for division of 45 per cent non-Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab, be resisted? Mr. Jinnah promised a just and considerate treatment to them. If he expected the non-Muslims to rely upon his promise, why could he not himself rely upon similar promise of the non-Muslim majority in an undivided India.

Then again how about the millions of Muslims who would live in 'Hindustan'? Would they not be at the mercy of non-Muslim Majority? If a relationship of 'good will and understanding' could bring the two communities round to a harmonious living in the proposed 'Pakistan' and 'Hindustan,' why could we not apply these human principle of 'goodwill and understanding' to India as a whole?

The Simla Conference, however, did not break down merely because of Mr. Jinnah's obduracy. This was no doubt one of the main causes but there were causes other than this too.

The community of I.C.S. Officers under the veiled leadership of some prominent bureacrats were up to conspire against the freedom of India. In the initial stages the Conference went on smoothly and they could not have a say in the situation dramatised by the expert handling of Lord Wavell. As soon as the deadlock occurred it was their chance to impress upon the lords in London that the situation was most complicated. It is generally believed that some instructions from Mr. Amery—the then Secretary of State for India requesting Lord Wavell not to antagonise Mr. Jinnah, were received in India. Those who were in close touch with Lord Wavell say that by the end of the 10th July 1945 the trend of the talks with him indicated that he would form the government leaving aside any intransigent party. On the 11th, however, the tone was changed. This further supports the presumption that a string was pulled from London which worked successfully for the reactionaries.

The I.C.S. Officers of 1945 were decidedly traitors. They thought that in a Free India they would lose their political value therefore they sent their Views about the Complications of Indian Politics with Secretary of State.

Their views were the worst pieces of the betrayal of India, they need not be discussed here.

This will suffice to say that the I.C.S. Officers were neglected after India's independence.

'Why did the British Government make this offer at all', is the question generally discussed amongst keen observers of Indian political events. Cripps proposals were prompted by war exigencies but now that the British had won the War in Europe, what could be the pressure behind this offer?

Certain circles believed that it was an election stunt. That the British electorate should be so interested in the Indian tangle as to make it an election issue. Wavell plan had already been approved by all the political parties in the then National Government of England. So it was not an election stunt.

Mr. Pattabhai Sitaramayya believed that Britain probably wanted to expand her trade in India by winning the goodwill of Indian people through Wavell proposals.

'It was American pressure' is still another view. There is no doubt that there were in America millions of people who wanted to see India free, especially after the second World War when the American public had been fully apprised of the Indian situation by Smt. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit's ability. But that American opinion should have become a pressure upon the British such as to compel the latter to make the offer of freedom to India does not seem comprehensible to common sense. England, of course, did not like to become a target of criticism of fellow nations in the 'big three meeting' as it did become earlier in the 'Frisco fiasco', Prof R.L. Khiple who wrote the details of the *Simla Conference* says. "The main-reason, I think was 'Japan'. There was Japan, a relentless, ferocious and well-equipped enemy to be defeated. On the other hand was a dissatisfied, rebelling India with its finances sapped to capacity and the internal economy weakened by 'corruption' and 'profiteering'—an

India with millions starved to death in Bengal and many more tottering on the verge of starvation and death. Could we defeat such a ferocious enemy—Japan—with the resources of such an emaciated country—India? This was the problem before the British statesmen, which compelled them to make the offer.

"Another reason is Russia—a victorious, defiant Russia which at the present moment holds sway in Europe and is fast winning diplomatic good in the Eastern spheres. These were the two main issues before the British Imperialists which made them come down on their kness before us. There is no generosity, no humanitarian spirit behind the offer, as some of my countrymen may be led to believe."

That the acceptance of the Wavell proposals of June 14, 1945 by the Indian leader would have meant a definite advance towards the direction of Indian independence, if 'World's Biggest Traitor' had not crushed the Wavell Plan.

For the first time in the history of Indo-British relations was there an offer constituting an entirly Indian Executive Council except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-chief, who was to retain his position as War member. This latter portfolio was thus only for the duration of the War, after which the council would have been cent-per-cent Indian. It was proposed that even the portfolio of External Affairs hitherto held by the Viceroy, would be transferred to an Indian member, so far as the interests of British India were concerned. The Finance and Home members were also to be Indians and the members were to be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders; they were thus to represent the various political parties of the land.

The Secretary of State, Mr. Amery also while referring to the Viceroy's veto power in his statement in the Parliament observed that 'that power is a power in reserve not an instrument in normal use.' In reply to a member's question, the Secretary of State made it clear that the veto power would not be used by the Viceroy against India's interests. It was only a provision for the protection of minorities, the interests of Indian States and an authority for successful prosecution of the war against Japan, which was at that time the major issue befor the Government.

With a view to clarifying the British policy towards India, His Majesty's Government also decided to appoint a United Kingdom High Commissioner in India to represent particular interests of the United Kingdom. The Secretary of State observed in the Parliament, in his speech, "Under the present conditions there is always a possibility that the Viceroy might, on a particular occasion, be placed, in dealing with his Council in the ambiguous and even embarrassing dual position of being both concerned, as the head of the Government of India, with the Defence of Indian interests and at the same time, with representing the specific material interests of this country (Great Britain). A United Kingdom High Commissioner on the other hand would be free as in the Dominions to discuss and negotiate with the Government of India on a footing of complete equality but also of complete frankness."

The main task before this new Executive Council, as the Viceroy declared, were, "firstly to prosecute the war against Japan, secondly to carry on the Government of British India with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon."

The opportunity offered to the leaders of Indian political parties, if utilized by them would have gone a long way in creating a spirit of mutual trust and understanding between the various work for the common ends of the country as a whole. It also would have given them considerable experience in the domains of administrative control, and diplomacy, thus serving as a reherasal period for taking up the coming responsibilities in a free India.

In the years 1945-46 the destinies of different countries of the world were in a melting pot, Peace conferences, the 'big three' the 'big five' meeting etc. etc. were in progress. When all the nations of the world were struggling hard for their proper 'place in the sun' it was pity that Indians could not sink their differences.

When great and urgent problems awaited solution before us, Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues by their obduracy did the greatest disservice to India for which the the coming generations will never forgive them.

What a traitor Jinnah was. He was thoroughly backed up by the Britishers otherwise Wavell could have neglected his obduracy.

We cannot forget the tragedy of Bengal. It was humiliating to see that a country like India was in such a plight that people committed suicide for want of cloth to cover their shame. Thousands of crores of rupees worth of goods of all kinds had been purchased from India at controlled price (price at which the civil population never got it) not only for the Army but also for civil population, the Allies, the Eastern group countries and the liberated Europe, whereas the civil population of India suffered scarcity and high prices. Millions of people in Bengal had no home to live in, no clothes to put on and no food to live upon.

Twenty lakhs of Bengalis died of starvation and all this was just a bye-product of the war. Can any Government under which two million starvation causalties occur continue its existence?—in no other country of the world except in India. It was no doubt partly due to profiteering by the newly emerged class of businessmen, but, profiteering itself was due to a foreign bureauracy.

The Bengal Famine of 1945 was a creation of British Rulers of India who were always betraying our people.

There can be no doubt that if India had her own government, these social evils could be much less harmful than under the British domination.

The rich class of profiteers in fact did not consider the war scarcity and derth as a national crisis but as an opportunity for amassing wealth.

Indian masses never 'owned' the war for it was declared without consulting their leaders and prosecuted in utter disregard of the co-operation of Indian political parties. Millions of people in the independent countries sacrificed their comforts and belongings in defence of their motherland but in India such a spirit could not be created amongst the masses under the vicious political system, which the British created.

Taxation and maintenance of a stable finance when war expenditure had amounted to hundreds of crores of rupees was yet another problem allied with the war. Indians were not going to inherit a bed of roses at the centre. The Viceroy was trying to transfer to Indian shoulders what Britain and the British Government of India were unable to handle. It was a necessity forced on them by a variety of circumstances, international, imperial and national. The 'dilapidated estate' of Indian finance could only be set right by popular leaders, who had the backing of the entire population behind them.

Then came the problems of post-war reconstruction and industrialization. Several thousand crores of rupees worth of goods of all kinds, both the produce of fields and factories, had been exported to England and other Allied countries from India so that now the entire debt which India owned to Britain had been wiped out and a sum of fifteen hundred crores of rupees had been accumulated in favour of India, as sterling debt, against the goods exported from India. If in lieu thereof India was given machinery and other capital goods it would go a long way in helping the industrialization of the country. The war demonstrated it to Britain that an industrialized India would have been a more useful ally in the prosecution of the war than the pastoralised India. All other countries of the world were busy over-hauling and strengthening their economic structures.

In fact all our communal tangles, including the bogey of Pakistan and other allied complications of that category were the outcome of religious bigotry and ignorance of the masses who were forced to remain outside the domain of proper education. A right sort of national education could help us a great deal in creating an atmosphere of trust and understanding between the various communities amongst the masses who were dancing to the tune of communalists.

All these problems could only be tackled if the leaders had agreed to form a Government. This opportunity was gone.

Perhaps the Wavell-Plan was only a 'show-business' of the Britishers who had secretly tutored Mr. Jinnah to behave as he did. Therefore it can be made known to the students of history that the Quaide-Azam (Mr. Jinnah) was given good lessons of treachery by the British Rulers of India. The reason for this can be given from the attitude of many members of the Muslim League who differed from the attitude of Jinnah. On the point of difference Jinnah always threatened them with his resignation.

If the Executive Council, as constituted by Lord Wavell did not place any party at a disadvantage in putting forward its claims, there was no reason why a reconstituted Executive Council could not be made.

The British Government, for its part, did not make it clear by deeds that it was sincerely desirous of placing as much power as possible in Indian hands even towards the close of second world war.

Really speaking the Britishers were trying to betray us while they had to betray their ownselves when their political losses forced them to give up India.

A new plan for a speedy and satisfactory constitution being framed for an Indian Union by a homogenous Constituent Assembly was suggested by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

The plan is only a slight modification in the procedure laid down in the Cripps proposals in regard to the formation of the constitution making body. Whereas the Cripps proposals lay down that after provincial elections a constitution making body should be elected through proportional representation of each Legislative Assembly and that body should frame a constitution and place it before the various legislatures for approval. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari suggested that the constitution making body was to consist of representatives of those provinces who would vote for forming an Indian Union, leaving it optional for the other provinces to come into the main Indian Union later, if necessary on special conditions. Said Rajaji; "I would suggest to the Labour Government an important modification of the original scheme; the plan declared in 1942 is elastic enough but it means provincial elections first, the election of a constitution-making body next through proportional representation of each Legislative Assembly and then the framing of a constitution by this constitution-making body. Thereafter each provincial legislature votes on the draft constitutton as to whether the province accepts it or not.

"The non-acceeding provinces will be free to remain under the existing constitution, or to form a new union with their own constitution. This is the Cripps plan. This means that provinces disinclined to oin the Indian Union and following the party that demands separation would still take part in the discussion and in the making of the constitution. They would have two strings to their bow. While this may appear reasonable it is obvious that the drafting of the constitution without a clear and decided intention to join the Union would prolong discussions and maintain an air of unreality throughout the proceedings. I suggest that the time-table and procedure should be modified as follows:

"Let the provincial election be held on an early date. Then let each Provincial Assembly vote on the issue of forming a Union. We may be sure that at least seven provinces will vote for forming an Indian Union. All provinces voting in this manner should proceed with election of the members to the constitution-making body by method of proportional representation and the body so formed should proceed to frame a constitution for the Union. Those who vote for remaining outside would continue until they gain strength and unity among themselves to frame a separate Union and a separate constitution. It would be open to such provinces to revise their attitude at any time later and vote for joining the main Indian Union.

"This modification of the time-table would result in several advantages. The proceedings of the constitution-making body would be marked by speed and co-ordinated intention. Provinces would think several times before voting to remain out. It will enable a throughly satisfactory constitution being framed in the first instance." The other plan would lead to series of checks and balances being proposed which would weaken the Centre most certainly, and yet the object of it all would probably remain unrealised, namely, accession of the Muslim League provinces."

Till one of the above or any other 'way out' was actually tried, Congress should not simply 'stand and wait.' It should try to catch power wherever possible. The observation of Maulana Azad that Congress will not accept ministeries in the provinces unless a National Government is established at the Centre, was rather disappointing. The Muslim League gained power because under a strange turn of political events favourable to them they were in a position to form ministeries in three provinces. They caught the opportunity and fully exploited it to their benefit with the result that it had now the courage to challenge the Congress such as to demand equal representation with it. The Indian Nationalist leaders had yet to learn to be 'opportunists.' After forming Congress ministeries wherever possible they ought to have educated the Indian masses. Whatever popularity the Muslim League had gained was all due to the ignorance and religious fanaticism of the common folk which the League had exploited to their benefit. If the masses were educated on scientific lines on a country wide scale the bogey of communalism could be driven out of the country within a short period.

Ever since the break-down of the Simla Conference changes of great significance in Great Britain, took place.

There was a change of government in Great Britain. Mr. Churchill—the great defender and prepetrator of the King's Empire was knocked off his '*gaddi*' and now he was on the oppositlon benches. His colleague—the great Mr. Amery, former Secretary of State for India, was now not even a member of the British Parliament. Thank God! the British Cabinet was purged off a gang of reactionaries who blocked up India's freedom for decades.

Another vital change of great significance was cessation of war in the middle and the far East, with the sudden and unexpected surrender of Japan.

The unexpected spectacular change in the British Government was conceived by some of the political speculators as a 'Silent Revolution' for a socialistic require. We looked up with great enthusiasm and expectation of our new 'Labour' Masters, for they had given up fascinating promises before they came into power, and one of the Labour leaders had specifically declared that if the Labour party came into power, they would immediately abolish India office—a rotten relic of political barbarism—. They came into power but India office was still there! they said there were constitutional considerations in the way of immediate abolition of India office just as there were minority considertions in the way of immediate grant of freedom to India and there were Military considerations in the way of the removal of British troops from Egypt and other territories!

During the intervening period after the break-down of Simla Conference, Lord Wavell the Viceroy had another flight to England to converse with his new bosses in the British Cabinet with regard to the destinies of India. He came back and had nothing to offer but a carefully worded broadcast speech.

The following is the text of the Viceroy's broadcast:

"After my recent discussions with His Majesty's Government in London, they authorised me to make the following announcement:

"As stated in the gracious speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament, His Majesty's Government are determined to do their utmost to promote in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion the early realisation of full self-government in India. During my visit to London they have discussed the steps to be taken.

"An announcement has already been made that elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, so postponed owing to the war, are to be held during the coming cold weather. Thereafter His Majesty's Government earnestly hope that ministerial responsibility will be accepted by political leaders in all provinces.

"It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body, and as a preliminary step they have authorised me to undertake, immediately after the elections, discussions with the representatives of the Legislative Assemblies in the provinces to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable. Discussion will also be undertaken with the representatives of the Indian States with a view to ascertaining in what way they can best take their part in the constitution-making body.

"His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of the treaty which will require to be coucluded between Great Britain and India.

"During these preparatory stages, the Government of India must be carried on and urgent economic and social problems must be dealt with. Furthermore, India has to play her full part in working out the new world order. His Majestry's Government have, therefore, further authorised me, as soon as the results of the provincial elections are published, to take steps to bring into being an Executive Council which will have the support of the main Indian parties.

"That is the end of announcement which His Majesty's Government have authorised me to make. It means a great deal. It means that His Majesty's Government are determined to go ahead with the task of bringing India to self-Government at the earliest possible date. They have, as you can well imagine, a great number of most important and urgent problems on their hands but despite all their pre-occupations they have taken time, almost in their first days of office, to give attention to the Indian problem as one of the first and most important. That fact is a measure of the earnest resolve of his Majesty's Government to help India to achieve early self-government.

"The task of making and implementing a new constitution for India is a complex and difficult one, which will require goodwill, co-operation and patience on the part of all concerned. We must first hold elections so that the will of the Indian electorate may be known.

"It is not possible to undertake any major alteration of the franchise system. This would delay matters for at least two years. But we are doing our best to revise the existing electoral rolls efficiently. After the elections, I propose to hold discussions with representatives of those elected, and of the Indian States to determine the form which the constitution-making body should take, its powers and procedure. The draft declaration of 1942 proposed a method of setting up a constitution-making body but His Majesty's Government recognise that, in view of the great issues involved and the delicacy of the minority problems, consultation with the peoples' representatives is necessary before the form of the constitution-making body is finally determined.

"The above procedure seems to His Majesty's Government and myself the best way open to us to give India the opportunity of deciding her destiny. We are well aware of the difficulties to be overcome but are determined to overcome them. I can certainly assure you that the Government and all sections of the British people are anxious to help India, which has given us so much help in winning this war. I for my part will do my best, in the service of the people of India, to help them to arrive at their goal, and I firmly believe that it can be done.

"It is now for Indians to show that they have the wisdom, faith and courage to determine in what way they can reconcile their differences and how their country can be governed by Indians for Indians."

The speech—from begining to the end—was full of vague promises and there was a statesmanly non-committal mentality all through it. His Majesty's Government wished a speedy solution of the Indian tangle, elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures were to be shortly held. Thereafter negotiations with the states representatives, negotiations with the elected representatives, and discussions with the party leaders etc., were to follow. This is what Sir Cripps told us in 1945.

In spite of a will to the contrary, a thoughtful observer of the British rule over India is sometimes constrained to beleive that the British Statesmen—are all chips of the same block. They differed with each other in regard to the internal administration of their country but conspired to remain united over the issue of keeping India in bondage.

We wanted an understanding from the British Government that 'obstructionists' would not be allowed to block the path of India's freedom and this the Labour Government failed to give.

THREE POLITICAL FORMULAS

We have already talked about the cripps Mission in an earlier chapter here is reproduced the text of the much applauded and equally condemned 'Cripps offer':

"His Majesty's Government having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms, the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realization of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect of its domestic and external affairs.

"His Majesty's Government therefore, make the following declaration:

(*a*) Immediately upon cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India in the manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India.

(*b*) Provision shall be made as set out below, for participation of Indian states in the constitution-making body.

(*c*) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject only to:

I. The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution, to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so desires.

With such non-acceeding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

II. The signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands, it will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government for the protection of racial and religious minorities but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other member states of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(*d*) The constitution making body shall be composed as follows unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities.

Immediately upon the result being known of provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities the entire membership of the Lower House of Provincial Legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to election of the constitution-maklng body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college.

Indian states shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion as to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian members.

(*e*) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the Defence of India as part of their World War effort but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the Principal Sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vast and essential for the future freedom of India."

Following is the text of the "Desai-Liaqat formula" as released to the Press by Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan :

"The Congress and the League agree that they will join in forming an interim Government in the centre. The composition of such a Government will be on the following lines :

(*a*) Equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the Central Legislature. Persons nominated need not be members of the Central Legislature.

(*b*) Representatives of minorities, in particular Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs.

(*c*) The Commander in Chief.

"The Government will bc formed and function within the frame work of the existing Government of India Act. It is however understood that if the cabinet cannot get a particular measure passed by the Legislative Assembly they will not enforce the same by resort to any of the reserve powers of the Governor-General.

"It is agreed between the Congress and the League that if such interim Government is formed, their first step would be to release the

Working Committee members of the Congress.

"The steps by which efforts would be made to achieve this end are at present indicated to take the following course:

"On the basis of the above understanding some way should be found to get the Governer-General to make a proposal or suggestion that he desires an interim Government to be formed in the centre on the agreement between the Congress and League and when the Governor-General invites Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Desai, either jointly or separately, the above proposals would be made desiring that they prepare to join forming the Government.

The next step would be to get the withdrawal of Section 93 in the provinces, and to form as soon as possible, provincial Governments on the lines of a coalition" *Associated Press of India.*

RAJAJI FORMULA

A solution of the present deadlock between the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, put forth by the vateran Congress leader C. Rajagopalchari, is commonly known as 'CR. Formula'.

It lays down that after the termination of the War a Commission be appointed for the territorial demarcations of the districts in North-Western and Eastern India where the Muslims claim to be in Majority, and which the League propose to include in their Pakistan. When the areas are thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants in the respective areas be held on the basis of adult suffrage or any other fair and reasonable franchise. If the Majority decide in favour of forming a state separate from Hindustan they should have their way but the districts on the border will have the right to join either of the states they choose to.

2. If it comes to separation, or in other words if Pakistan and Hindutan, two separate sovereign states are formed, they may enter into a mutual agreement with regard to Defence, Communications, Trade and Commerce etc, etc.

3. Any transfer of population from the territory of one of the states into that of the other, if involved, will be on voluntary basis.

4. Before the plebiscite takes place it will be open to the different political parties to propagate amongst and present to the general public their points of view, programmes etc.

5. The above terms are however based upon the allied understanding that the Muslim League would support India's demand for immediate and full independence and that they would co-operate with the Congress to run a popular interim Government during the intervening period. Also that the terms would come into operation in case the Great Britain arranged to transfer full power and responsibility to the Indian Government.

The above noted three political formulas are given here to judge the political trends of India just two years before independence.

15 *Churchill On India*

Winston Churchill came from the family of another noted Imperialist of England ; the Duke of Marlborough. He was born in 1874 at Blenhiem Palace. He participated in N.W.F.P. campaign in 1898, Cuban War, and Boer War. In 1900 he entered Parliament and became under Secretary of State for colonies in 1916, in the Liberal Government, First Sea Lord in 1912, Minister of Munitions in 1917 and Chanceller of Exchequer in 1924.

In the elections of 1922, the Socialists defeated him and he lost his seat in Parliament. In fact the Liberal Party suffered a landslide. It was rent in two, Llyod George and Asquith pulling different ways. Faced with the alternative of becoming a Socialist or a 'Red', or remaining in the defunct Liberal Party, Churchill like a British patriot joined the Conservative Party. He declared that Conservative Party was 'Liberal', as indeed it was to him for it made him Chancellor of Exchequer in 1924 in the cabinet of Stanley Baldwin. In 1929, when the Labour Government came in power and outlined a new policy for India, Churchill wanted to stick to the Simon Commission Report. He fell out with Ramsay Macdonald. For the next five years he carried on a relentless campaign against India Reforms.

Though Mr. Churchill did little actively against Montague Chelmsford reforms yet we should hear the repudiation of this entire scheme from his own lips.

Wrote Churchill to the *Times:*

"Lord Zetland is reported to have said:—Mr. Churchill was a prominent member of the Government which framed the Declaration of August, 1917 and where he was occupying a position of greater responsibility than he does to-day. Mr. Churchill was one of the first, if not the first to encourage Indians to look forward to the attainment of Dominion Status.

"These statements are substantially untrue and directly misleading. I took office as Minister of Munitions in July 1917, and therefore I was technically a member of the Government which framed the consitution of August 20, 1917. Nevertheless I had no responsibility for it. At that time the whole responsibility for policy was borne by the War Cabinet. Secretaries of State and other high functionaries were expressly relieved from all responsibility except for the proper discharge of their departmental duties. These conditions ruled until November 3, 1919 when the normal cabinet system was restored and the full cabinet met for the first time. During the whole of this period I was never summoned to any of the war cabinet deliberations upon Indian constitutional reform nor to any of the Committees which dealt with the subject, nor was I ever invited to express opinion orally or in writing upon it, nor to the best of my belief, did I ever do so. Indeed so entirely was I absorbed in my work at the Ministry of Munitions, and afterwards in the demobilization of the Army, that I do not remember to have been conscious till long after the Declaration of August 20, 1917.

"When the normal cabinet resumed its political reponsibilities in November 1919, the Montague Chelmsford India Bill had already been read a second time by the House of Commons without a division ; had been approved by a Select Committee of both Houses, and only came before the reconstituted cabinet as an agreed measure upon which two years of labour had been spent, and for which the members of the war cabinet alone bore responsibility. Up till that time—i.e., when the last phase had been reached—I had never been consulted in any way directly or indirectly upon the policy, or had any opportunity afforded me of studying it. Thereafter I accepted the policy as I understood it and gave it in the subsequent years of the Government a general Ministerial support. For this I take full responsibility. I am sure Lord Zetland, now that these facts are brought to his mind, will see that he was not justified in charging me with any responsibility for "framing the declaration of August 20, 1970," or "being one of the first, if not the first, to encourage Indians to took forward to the attainment of Dominion Status." These events had already occurred before my responsibility as a Minister in those years began."

To this Lord Zetland made the following reply:

"I, of course, accept unhesitatingly Mr. Churchill's disclaimer of direct responsibility for the framing of the Declaration.

"But this declaimer does not dispose of my contention which was that as a member of the Government which formulated the policy, Mr. Churchill, since he neither protested against it now withdrew from the Government must be held to have accepted responsibility if not for framing of the declaration at least for the policy which the declaration embodied. Indeed he does not deny this. . . . still less does his disclaimer dispose of my contention that Mr. Churchill 'was one of the first if not the first to encourage Indians to took forward to the attainment of Dominion Status.'

"I was here referring not so much to the fact that he was a member of the Government in 1917 as to the speech which he made on June 15, 1921 in the presence of the Prime Ministers of the dominions and representative of India assembled in London for the Empire Conferences. In the course of his speech he spoke of India as moving forward under the Montague Scheme towards a "great Dominion Status," an expression of opinion which was greeted with cheers, and he added that he "looked forward confidently to the days when the Indian Government and people would have assumed fully and completely their Dominion Status.

"Mr. Churchill tells us that the normal cabinet system, involving collective responsibility for Government policy, had been restored in November 1919—that is to say, some 21 years before he gave expression to his views as to India's eventual assumption of Dominion Status. He occupied at the time the post of Secretary of State for the Colonies, which included within its sphere the self-governing Dominions. He spoke therefore, not only with great weight but with exceptional responsibility, on questions affecting the Dominions, actual or potential and I cannot admit that my statement was either "substantially untrue" or "directly misleading," when I said that Mr. Churchill "was one of the first, if not the first to encourage Indians to look forward to the attainment of Dominion Status."

Mr. Churchill could not be expected to remain silent. He made the following statement in reply to the above:—

"When Lord Zetland repeats that I was "one of the first, if not the first to encourage Indians to look forward to the attainment of Dominion Status" he is surely wrong. It is the essence of the Government case at the present time that the preamble of the Act of 1919 and the Irwin agreement of 1929 about Dominion Status both flowed inevitably from the Declaration of 1917, for which Lord Zetland recognises I had no directly responsibility.

"If Lord Zetland accepts the Government view on this point as I believe he does, he cannot maintain that the speech made by me in 1921 constituted a new departure, or was in the nature of Ministerial pronouncement. Still less can he contend that I was "one of the first, if not the first to encourage Indians," by such an expression, when such encouragement had been given four years before upon the authority of the war cabinet and of the eminant men it included.

"If on the other hand Lord Zetland differs from the Government view, the changed measuring of the phrase "Dominion Status" becomes dominant. Before the Imperial Conference of 1926 and the passing of the statute of Westminister, it was complimentary term, which anybody might have applied to any large unit, forming part of the Empire. It had no legal or constitutional significance or even implication. The statute of Westminster attaches more precise and at the same time far more grave meaning to the term, and one which in no way follows from the Declaration of 1917, and in no way relates to any words which I used in a speech on a festive occasion ten years before the passing of the statute of Westminister."

Mr. Churchill interviewed about the Round Table Conference on January 20, 1931 declared:—"The eloquent and well meant speeches at the close of the Conference do not represent a very large body of British opinion. A stranger would conclude that we were anxious to wind up our connection with India as soon as possible. I do not believe that that is what the British Nation wishes and means. If so then the days of its power and greatness in the world are set for ever.

"The British case has not been stated at the Conference. All unpalatable truths about safeguards have been left unspoken or have been touched upon lightly as necessary evils appropriate to a period of transition. If safeguards are to be real and effective, then the Dominion Status and responsible Government are not terms to apply to a constitution, which has been outlined.

"It is not yet too late. By the time another Conference assembles, whether here or in India, the British Nation must know where it stands and must have courage and wisdom in Lord Birkenhead's words to tell India the truth."

A debate was held in House of Commons about India on January 20. Mr. Churchill, who spoke, made it clear that he was not speaking for the official opposition. He said that the handling of the Indian affairs during the last eighteen months had been most unfortunate and had already led to results which could be long lamented. He asked why the procedure decided upon when the Simon Commission was appointed had not been observed.

He added: "The Viceroy's announcement of November 1929 was not called for and constituted an intervention between the Parliament and the Simon Commission whose Report was profoundly prejudiced before publication and the Indian political class simultaneously made enormously increased demands. The Simon Commission Report has been shelved, and its members excluded from the Conference in the vain hope of persuading the Indian extremists to attend. The Conference, which was not an authorised constituent assembly came to a conclusion which was utterly unforseen even a year ago, in almost any quarter of the House. The immense body of knowledge represented by the Simon Commission's Report and the great body of reasons and authority represented by the Government of India have been set aside within a few weeks, and we are confronted with a constitution outlined in a blue book. In this hysterical landside of opinion the Conservative delegates almost alone kept their heads. The rapid landslide of British opinion and policy has been accompanied in India by a steady development of unrest, disorder, disloyalty and assassination.

"I accepted the preamble of the Act of 1919 and also clause 41 of the Act. The former showed the ultimate goal to which India might aspire and the latter right of Parliament to advance or restrict the development of constitutional Government. We are not relieving ourselves of the burden and responsibilities in India but are merely setting the scene for a more complicated controversy. The Conference's scheme provided no solution. The clash and agitation in India will continue, but they will no longer be confined to rioting in streets and demonstrations in Legislatures. They will invade the heart and brains of the Government of India. Two centuries of effort and achievement have given Britain her own rights in

India and when the Nation finds the whole position in jeopardy, there will be a sharp awakening and a reaction of the most vehement character will sweep the country."

After the Gandhi-Irwin Pact another debate was held in House of Commons on March 12, 1931. Mr Churchill returned to the attack and said:

"It is ridiculous to assert that the decision not to continue the Conference in India is a mere matter of procedure, on the contrary it is reversal of the whole of the immediate programme on which the Government and the Government of India have set their minds. The decision just announced leaves undecided the question whether the Conservative Party should participate in any Conference that might be held in London. I do not suggest that a decision of that kind should be taken now. I, myself with my own hand in the resolution moved at the private committee upstairs wrote the words "in India". Tha draft of it has been my own.

"Expectations, aspirations and appetites throughout India are mounting. I read in newspapers that Mr. Gandhi is surrounded by wealthy men, who are anticipating acquisition of the resources of the Empire on cheaper terms than were ever offered to the world. It reminds me of the story of the Roman Senator dining when he heard that the Pretorian guard has put up the Empire to auction and so ran out and bought it for £ 200 per soldier. That was fairly cheap. But the terms on which the Empire is being offered to this group around Mr. Gandhi are cheaper still.

"I deny that I am an apostle of violent repression or brute force. On the other hand a mere title of the force and punitive measures which the Socialist Government and the Viceroy had vainly employed would have sufficed if it had been part of a firm and coherent policy of simple maintenance of law and order."

A mass meeting was held at the Albert Hall after a few days of the India debate in Commons (March 12, 1931) "to insist on orderly and just Government for the Indian people." The Duke of Marlborough presided over this meeting and Mr. Churchill in the course of his speech said:

"The movement of awakening opinion in the Conservative Party has already caused concern to the leaders. Already they have abandoned the plan for sending a three-party delegation to India for which Lord Irwin pleaded so casually. The Socialists are now rearranging their plans for another attack. Mr. Gandhi, their supreme hope, is to come to London as soon as they can persuade him to come. By the time Mr. Gandhi arrives here to receive the surrender of the Indian Empire the Conservative Party would not be so ready to have its name taken in vain. A hideous act of self-mutiliation is being performed to the astonishment of every other civilised nation in the world.

"I am against all this surrender to Gandhi. I am against these conversations and agreements between Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi. Gandhi stands for the expulsion of the British from India, for permanent exclusion of British trade from India. Gandhi stands for the substitution of

Brahmin domination for British rule in India. You will never be able to come to terms with Gandhi." (Cheers.)

As in spite of the tirades of Winston Churchill against meetings between the Viceroy, and Gandhi, these two continued to meet, the British diehard became all the more furious and in another speech made an attack on the sparse dress of Gandhi, which in his view made him look "half-naked fakir". Said he:

"It was alarming, and nauseating to see Mr. Gandhi, an Inner Temple lawyer, now a *seditious fakir*, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal palace to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King Emperor." The word 'seditious fakir' shows the maliciousness in Churchill's words.

As was to be expected this created quite an uproar in India as well as abroad.

This nightmare of Brahmin domination haunted Mr. Churchill in those days. When Lord Irwin returned to England in May 1931, a debate was held in Commons, in which Mr. Churchill participated. He characterised the speech of Mr. Wedgewood Benn as 'inadequate' as an answer to the questions or to the dangers of the future. He said "I see in the pursuit of the Round Table Conference neither peace to India, nor prosperity to Lancashire. The Indian millowners aiming at monopoly are the main-power behind Gandhism." He added, "The second prospect is the subjection of the Muslims to a Hindu hegemony. That is a flagrant contradiction of another safeguard which we are pledged to insist upon. Thirdly, these Hindu dictators are determined permanently to shut out British goods.

"That contradicts Mr. Baldwin's insistence upon no discrimination against British trade.

"The evil fruits of exalting Mr. Gandhi into the representative of all India are already evident. There is illegal tyranny of the boycott intensified under the caste system. There is envenomed feeling between the Hindus and Muslims, which has already produced the horror of the Kanpur massacre. There is the threat to Christian missionaries. All these evils Mr. Gandhi is pledged to perpetuate. The proper policy is to declare the boycott illegal and enforce the law against the organizers of the boycott." These words show that Churchill was India's enemy number one.

The riots at Kanpur were given great prominence in Conservative Press, and served as a cloven hoof to withhold the right of freedom from India. Mr. Churchill speaking in Commons on July 9, referred to Kanpur riots in the following words:

"The calamity may be traced to the Round Table Conference and the Irwin-Gandhi agreement. It is only what would happen on a large scale if British authority is withdrawn from India. Recent speeches of Lord Willingdon and Sir George Schuster have increased the nervousness of minorities. Mr. Benn's period of office is one of the greatest retrogression and misfortune that India has suffered."

With the end of the Round Table Conference in the first week of December 1931, there were debates on India in both Houses of Parliament. The Prime Minister presented a white paper on India, which was in fact same as his speech at the closing of the Round Table Conference. The next day a resolution was moved in the Commons by the Prime Minister approving it and debated in a general way by the house. Mr. Churchill moved an amendment to the Prime Minister's resolution. He said, "It is preposterous to think that the Indian proletariat, and the vast masses, the almost innumerable peoples of India would be likely to live in peace, happiness and decency under the same polity and the same form of Government as the British, Canadian or Australian democracies. It is preposterous not because natives of India are inherently incapable of working modern democratic institutions, but because of the political, social, racial, and religious conditions of the country in which they live." He said that the Simon Commission had deliberately excluded the expresion "Dominion Status" from their report and he protested against the development of the Round Table Conference into a kind of informal constituent assembly to draft a Federal Constitution.

By the time the Round Table Conference had ended, Mr. Churchill, due to his betrayal of India, become known all over Europe. The Danes were annoyed by Mr. Churchill's behaviour and one of the Danish writers visiting England wrote a book called *Kings, Churchill and Statesmen.* This book which was widely commented upon then in India, and hailed as an example of European condemnation of Churchill. The British trade suffered greatly as a result of the boycott movement, and the temper of the country could be best judged from the following words published in *Statesman* of February 27, 1931.

"His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawnagar has issued a strange order prohibiting the sale of foreign cloth in Jamnagar State territories. Explaining the reasons for the order, His Highness says that it is the desire of an overwhelming majority of his subjects to see that foreign cloth is not sold within the state limits and that even dealers have agreed to it."

"The order, he states, will remain in force for three months, and anyone defying it will be punished."

So the boycott movement had spread even to the States and the situation had not improved due to the policy of men like Churchill.

Churchill continued to plough a lonely furrow.

When the India Bill came up before the Joint Select Committee, he had more opportunity to show his talents in opposition.

Mr. Churchill sent a letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, in which he wrote:

"I believe that if the scheme of the White Paper is carried out, it can only lead after some years either to the evacuation or reconquest of India. I do not wish to share the burden for such grievous events. I see no advantage, therefore in my joining your committee merely to be voted down by an overwhelming majority of the eminent persons you have selected. It is better that those who believe in the policy of the White

Paper should work it out for themselves in the Joint Select Committee unhampered by the criticism or protest of those from whom they are unbridgeably divided."

Mr. Churchill was subjected to some cross-examination by the Joint Select Committee on Indian reforms, which held its sittings in London in October, 1933. Mr. Churchill submitted a memorandum to the Committee and in it outlined a scheme for Provincial Home Rule in India. Mr. Churchill said he was prepared to support Provincial Home Rule in India subject to certain conditions:

(1) That the powers extended are delegated and revocable by the Parliament.

(2) That the experiment is given a fair chance over a long period of time without being unhinged by projects of further coustitutional change.

(3) That the Governor of Province appointed by the King on the advice of British Ministers should have one or more deputies similarly appointed, associated with him to whom he may, when and where expedient, entrust the control of the judiciary, and also of the police, unless it is found possible to organise the police as an Imperial service.

(4) That an adequate inspectorate be organised to ensure the faithful and effective expenditure of Indian moneys, and to discharge the abiding inalienable responsibility of Parliament for good Government.

Before the report of the Joint Select Committee was submitted to Parliament, the stand of the Conservative Party was debated by the National Union of Conservative and Unionist associations. Mr. Churchill had occasion to speak there. He said:

"We are forcing democratic and Parliamentary institutions on India, when these institutions are in so many great countries failing even to give the elementary guarantees of justice and individual freedom. We are giving adjudication on the Indian democracy at a time when all over the world we see other countries reaching out and arming in order to secure overseas possessions."

After refering to the Socialist menace and asking "Whether the Conservative Party was going to sit gaping while the foundations of the Empire were being frittered away," Mr. Churchill turned to the scheme "Will It work? "Will it last? Will it give a better Government to the Indian people?" asked Mr. Churchill. There were cries of "Yes" and counter cries of "No". He then examined in detail the proposed scheme in order to show that it could lead neither to better Government nor to greater satisfaction. "It is merely abdication, as even the Labour party feels, of our duty to the Indian masses. There is no unity in India, apart from Britisn rule. The Princes have only toyed with Federation because they thought the British were scuttling."

Mr. Churchill started his onslaught on the India Bill as soon as it had been introduced in the house. He moved that it be adjourned in view of the "momentous rejection by Princes of the Government scheme of

Federation." Mr. Churchill condented that the Princes resolution indicated definite rejection of Federation. He was struck by the gravity and substance of the existing differences. Mr. Churchill argued the resolution which constituted a new political situation as far as the future of the Bill concerned.

He said:"It constitutes a prolonged dreary farce for the House to continue discussion of clauses 5 and 6 without knowing what alterations are to be effected in the structure of the Bill and indeed to discuss the whole question of Federation without knowing whether the indispensable condition of the Princes' accession is to be achieved."

Continuing his tirade the next day Mr. Churchill said: Princes's original offer due to a bargain with some Congress leaders and others to the effect that if the Princes demanded responsibility at the centre the Congress would leave them to govern their States as they liked. There were Princes who were most susceptible to the influence of the political classes of British India. The latter formally favoured the federal system but are now in full retreat from it, and bringing their influence to bear on the Princes with the result that the latter are moving in the opposite direction. The States Ministers also agree with the Princes resolution. All articulate elements in the Indian political life from the Congress to the Princes are arranged against the Bill. Sir Samuel Hoare may try to minimise the differences and promise vaguely further important concessions. We confidently predict that nothing will now change the Princes' resolve to disengage themselves from what they realise is dan gerous and nothing will lead them to quit the solid rock of their treaties with the King Emperor. It is quite clear that Federal Scheme is dead. The Government has now a fortunate chance to revert to the broad proposals of the Simon Commission to which nothing useful has been added during the last four years. The Simon Commission proposals constituted a very hazardous experiment but did note certain perils of the Federal plan. Let the Government discard the Federal plan. Let Sir Samuel Hoare put aside pride and obstinacy and imitate wisdom and prudence of Sir Robert Walpole who over the great Excise Bill had said 'This dance can no further go."

In the clause by clause discussion of the Bill, Mr. Churchill was invariably arrayed against the Government. On May 4, when the House was debating about the role of I.C.S. in the new constitution, Mr. Churchill declared that India Bill would wreck the I.C.S. He said: "The civil servants may be called upon to work under such conditions that they might be thrown out just when they were looking forward to long careers in the service wherein they had devoted their lives. It may be extraordinarily difficult to obtain employment comparable to what they left. The consequence to the service as a whole is more important than the consequence to individual. I believe the Government is doing the I.C.S. a great injury. I think the Bill will wreck the I.C.S. Though the Government says it will continue for many years. There is a great need: maintaining the high qualities of the service and if a man's career is sacrificed a substaintial compensation should be offered."

When the House passed the third reading of the India Bill, Mr. Churchill prophesied disaster for it. He said: "All the Provincial Governors had found it necessary to press for the provision that dangerous terrorists should not be eligible for membership to the Federal Legislature. The admission that Provincial Legislatures might elect such persons shows what might be the character of Provincial Legislatures; yet they are to control law and order. I do not wonder that misgivings prompted the Government to with-hold the control over secret police. What chance exists of reducing the present tariff against British trade in view of the additional burden which the new constitution will throw on India's harassed revenues. We have been repeatedly told of the necessity of Indian consent to any proposals. It was for this reason that Mr. Gandhi was coaxed and wheedled over here and that such careful nursing was given to Liberals before. They were unfortunately all thrown out at the first election when the proposals were made known. If the Government could get the support of the Assembly they would jump at it. It is not obtainable therefore they shift their ground.

"The Government can claim to have provided neither good Government nor Government by consent. The constitution is certainly not final."

The antagonists of India Bill did not restrict their activities to the House of Commons. The India Defence League, which was being run by Mr. Winston Churchill along with some other Tories of the deepest dye continued a campaign on a grand scale among the public at large. A demonstration was held in Alberts Hall on March 21, 1935 in which Churchill, Lord Llyod, and Sir Henry Page Croft spoke and passed a resolution reaffirming faith in Conservative principles and calling on the Government to abondon the India Bill. The resolution was moved by Lord Llyod and seconded by Churchill, who said:

"The Bill is dead. It is as dead as mutton. But nevertheless the Government assures us it must be placed on statute-book. The corpse must be carried forward as a trophy.

"We have months of fighting yet before us and after that there will be a fight in the House of Lords led by Lord Salisbury (cheers). I trust the Bill will come back to the House of Commons with a goodly stock of amendments. Much may happen in these critical months. Do not loose heart. Now is the time we are going to reap the result of our long uphill fight. Many things may happen in the central organisation of the Government in the next four or five months. We may have a new Prime Minister, (cheers). If we do, then will be the moment when we should ask that Conservative opinion shall be considered as a whole.

Mr. H. L. Seth in his book *Churchill on India* writes: "When the India Bill had received the Royal assent and become a law, Mr. Churchill informed Sir Harry Goschen, Chairman of the West Essex Unionist

Association that as the Government of India Act was on the statute-book, he considered that other tasks lay before the Conservative Party and that it should strive for a sane and stable Parliament at the next General Election for the defence and safety of the country and the Empire, for the maintenance of the peace of the world, and for the help of the special areas."

It shows that Churchill's betrayal of India only could create peace of the world and safety of the British Empire.

The most glaring contrast between the European and Indian policy of Churchill was presented by his attitude towards the Atlantic Charter. This Charter under whose cover, the Poles are with evident consent of Britain and the United States, making most extravagant demands on Russia, had according to him no bearing on the situation in India or the Empire. This could be observed from his following speech:

Mr. Churchill, referring to the Atlantic declaration in the course of his war review in the House of Commons said: "The joint declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements on policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional Government in India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire.

"We have pledged by the declaration of August 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Races, subject ofcourse to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsiblities to its many creeds, races and interests.

"Burma also is covered by our considered policy of establishing Burma's self-government and by measures already in progress."

The coming of Japan in war radically changed the situation in the East. In order to remove the Japanese menace, the British felt the need of mobilising public opinion in this country by agreeing to some reforms right in midst of the war, after Cripps had thrashed out the subject in detail with the Indian leaders.

Louis Fischer tells us in course of the articles published on *The Indian Tangle* in American Press that it was possible that, the Cripps Mission might have succeeded if Mr. Churchill's attitude during the negotiations were helpful. It was not. It was much like the Gandhi Linlithgow negotiations in spring 1940, when too he could intervene successfully, and did not do.

But all these were the moves made behind the scenes. So far since the days of the reading of India Bill in Commons, Mr. Churchill had no opportunity to hurl a broadside at the Indian National Congress. The article in 1937 in *Daily Telegraph* was only a thin rattle of his musketery. Heavier attacks were yet to come. The acute differences that arose between the British and the Congress after the Cripps negotiations gave great opportunity to Mr. Amery to ventilate his wrath against the Congress. Churchill also appeared in his true colours and delivered a speech in the Commons on September 1942 which should rank with his most bitter attacks on Congress made in 1930-33.

Mr. Churchill speaking in the Commons said: "The course of events in India has been improving and is on the whole reassuring. The broad principles of the declaration which formed the basis of the mission of the Lord Privy Seal (Sir Stafford Cripps) to India must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament. These principles stand in their full scope and integrity. No one can add to them, and no one can take anything away. The good offices of Sir Stafford Cripps were rejected by the Indian Congress Party. This, however, does not end the matter. The Indian Congress Party does not represent all India (cheers). It does not represent the majority of the people of India (cheers). It does not even represent the Hindu masses (cheers).

"It is a political organisation built around a party machine and sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests (cheers and laughter).

"Revolutionary movement outside that party and fundamentally opposed to it are 90 million Muslims in British India (here a Member interjected nonsense and there were cries of "order") who have their rights of self-expression, 50 million depresssd classes or untouchables as they are called, because they are supposed to defile their Hindu co-religionists by their presence or by their shadows, and 95 million subjects of the Princes of India with whom we are bound by treaty. In all there are 235 millions in these large groupings alone of about 390 millions in all. This takes no account of the large elements among Hindus, Sikhs and Christians in British India who deplore the present policy of the Congress Party. It is necessary that these main facts should not be overlooked here or abroad because no appreciation of the Indian problem or of the relations between India and Britain is possible without recognition of these basic data. The Congress Party has now abandoned the policy in many respects of Non-violence which Mr. Gandhi has so long inculcated in theory and has come into the open as a revolutionary movement designed to paralyse communications by rail and telegraph and generally to promote disorder, looting of shops and sporadic attacks upon the Indian public accompanied from time to time by revolting atrocities—whole having intention or at any rate effect of hampering the defence of India against the Japanse invader who stands on the frontiers of Assam and also upon the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal.

"It may well be that these activities by the Congress Party have been aided by Japanese Fifth Column Work on a widely extended scale and with special direction to strategic points. It is noteworthy, for instance, that communications of the Indian forces defending Bengal on the Assam frontier have been specially attacked. In these circumstances, the Viceroy and the Government of India with the unanimous support of the Viceroy's Council, the great majority of which are Indian patriotic and wise men have felt it necessary to proclaim and suppress the central and provincial organs of this association which has become committed to hostile and criminal courses.

"Mr. Gandhi and other principal leaders have been interned under condition of the highest comfort and consideration and will be kept out of harm's way until the troubles subside.

"It is fortunate indeed that the Congress party has no influence with martial races on whom the defence of India, apart from British forces, largely depends. Many of these races are divided by unbridgeable religious gulfs from the Hindu Congress and would never consent to be ruled by them nor shall they ever be against their will so subjugated, (prolonged cheers)." Mr. Churchill resumed, "There is no compulsory service in India, but upwards of one million Indians have volunteered to serve the cause of the united Nations in this world struggle. The bravery of Indian troops has been distinguished in many theatres of war, and it is satisfactory to note that in these last two months when the Congress has been measuring its strength against the Government of India over 140,000 new volunteers for the Army have come forward in loyal allegiance to the King Emperor thus surpassing all records in order to defend their native land.

"So far as matters have gone up to the present, they have reavealed the impotence of the Congress Party either to reduce or even sway the Indian Army to draw from their duty the enormous body of Indian officials or still less, to stir the vast Indian masses.

"India is a continent almost as large and actually more populous than Europe, and divided by racial, and by religious differences far deeper than any that have separated the Europeans. The adiministration of the Government of 390 millions who live in India is carried on by Indians there being under 600 British Members of the Indian Civil Services. All public services are working. In five provinces, including two of the greatest and comprising 110 million people, Provincial Ministers responsible to their Legislatures stand at their posts. In many places both in town and country the population has rallied to the support of the civil power.

"The Congress conspiracy against communications is breaking down. Acts of pillage and arson are being repressed and punished with an incredibly small loss of life. Less than 500 persons have been killed over this mighty area of territory and population and it has only been necessary to move a few Brigades of British troops here and there in support of the civil power.

"In most cases rioters have been successfully dealt with by the Indian Police. I am sure the House would join with me to pay a tribute to the loyalty and steadfastness of the brave Indian police as well as to the India official class generally whose behaviour has been deserving of the highest praise.

"To sum up the outstanding fact which has so far emerged from the violent action of the Congress party has been its non-representative character and powerlessness to throw into confusion the normal peaceful life of India. It is the intention of Government to give all necessary support to the Viceroy and his Executive in the firm but tempered measures by which they are protecting the life of the Indian communities and leaving the British and Indian armies free to defend the soil of India against the Japanese. I may add that large reinforcements have reached India and that the number of white soldiers now in that country, although very small compared with its size and population, are larger than at any time in the British connection. I, therefore, feel entitled to report to the House that the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondency or alarm."

Churchill's aim was to impress upon the American Public the difficulties of settling the question of Indian Independence.

This attitude towards India, and Empire was maintained by Mr. Churchill during his visit to America in the spring of 1943, when he had occasion to address the Congress. Instead of enunciating the war aim of global freedom, and impressing upon the American public that both countries were to be the torch-bearers of this great tradition, he had according to Liberal paper of England affirmed his intention to hold on to Britsh Empire.

On April 16, 1937 Churchill commented on Indian events as follows:

"Indian events are beginning to cause anxiety through wide circles in Britain, and especially in those circles responsible for the Indian Constitution Act.

"Those Conservative members, who during five years opposed the new adventure and were decisively voted down in both Houses of Parliament, have maintained a punctilious silence from the moment that the India Bill received the Royal Assent. Neither by word nor action have they intervened, or prejudiced the implementing of the vast, complicated scheme which they had so resolutely opposed. This period of restraint is by no means at an end.

"Moreover, the action of His Majesty's Government has been strictly in accordance with the law which has been passed and with the undertakings and safeguards which were so essential part of its progress. There has been no failure upon the part of the viceroy or of the India Office to carry out loyally and faithfully the intentions of Parliament and the pledges given both to the British and Indian peoples. It must also be remembered that the opponents of the India Act professed themselves—with great reluctance and many misgivings—ready to support the institution of provincial Government apart from the Federal Scheme; and it is the stage of the Provincial Government alone that has now arrived. But though there is therefore no occasion for controversy or reproaches at the present time, it would only be prudent to take stock of what has happened.

"A gigantic process of gathering the votes of an electorate of thirty million Indians spread over an immense, many of them dwelling under primitive conditions, has passed off with smoothness and efficiency. The electoral machiney has worked better than many of its designers expected. The results have, however, seriously disconcerted them. Those who said during the passage of the Act, that the Congress Party would be supreme, were disbelieved and brushed aside. But now we see that the Congress Party is powerful everywhere, and all powerful in six of the eleven provinces of India. Even in Madras, which it was believed almost without dispute would return a moderate Liberal legislature. The claim to speak in the name of an enormous majority of the Indian electorate, they can govern, at any time they choose, the greater part of India. The administration of Justice and the control of the police will, at their request, be placed immediately in their hands. They can dispose of the revenues of half a dozen countries almost as large as leading European states. They can make or mar the welfare of masses, numbered by the hundred million, and they can vindicate or break the constitution created for them.

"They now refuse to take office without assurances from the Provincial Governors that the fundamental safeguards without which Parliament would never have passed the Act, would be set aside. The Governors and the Viceroy, acting in the closest concert without the Home Government, have had no choice but to refuse such assurances. Departmental Ministries have been set up, pending the meeting of the Assemblies. As soon as these Assemblies meet, we shall see the beginning in every province of the same kind of constitutional conflict which scarred the history of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On every side Governors, armed with the prerogatives of ancient kings, will be confronted with the agitation of modern Parliaments. The Congress has declared its united resolve to make the Constitution unworkable, and to court, even in some cases create, an absolute deadlock. The stopgap Ministries will be humiliated, closed from power, or reduced to unimportance or servility. On the other hand, the Government of every province must be carried on from week to week, and the Governors have ample powers in law and in fact to enable to discharge the prime responsibility. Such is the crude, harsh issue which is now emerging.

"Read here the hard declaration of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—Communist, Revolutionary, most capable and most implacable of the enemies of the British connection with India. 'It is as clear as the noon-day sun that our paths lie in different directions. There is nothing in common between us, and we shall go along our path resolutely, and with a will to put an end to this bogus Act which has been forced upon us.' But now comes Mr. Gandhi with smooth and spacious words. 'Why Imperil', he pleads in effect, 'this great experiment of self Government for the sake of legal pedantry? Let us have "gentleman's agreement" to explain away and remove from practical politics these galling statutory safeguards. Then you will reap your rich reward.' Congress will then, perhaps, it is suggested, consent to assume the Government of the provincess and take control of the police, and thus it will be to carry but its declared intention of destroying the constitution and achieving Indian independence.

These barbed blandishments are reinforced from British-India quarters by arguments of practical expediency. The Congress, it is said, gained their majority by making large promises to the electors. To fulfil these promises will split their party. They refuse to take office and throw the blame for all disappointed hopes upon the wicked English and their 'bogus constitution' keeps the party united and their electorate behind them, and thus builds up the forces which will be required in the impending struggle. To frustrate these schemes, it is said, the remedy is to force the Congress men, as they are now called, to assume the responsibility of office. The constitution therefore must be so interpreted that the reserve power on which Parliament, ever in its most facile mood, insisted, should be allowed to lapse.

"But it is to a different England or Britain that these appeals are now directed. Here is an England which feels in all conscience that it has done its best for the Indian political classes. It will stand by its word in spirit and in letter ; but it will go no further. It will enter upon no new slippery slope. Britain has done her best. Others now must make their sincere contribution. Besides all this, we are in a different climate of opinion. The dangerous slothfulness of two or three years has passed. The mood of pacifism is gone. Britain is arming on a gigantic scale. The gravity of the European situation presses upon men's minds. There is no sterner temper in the air.

"Meanwhile, as if to strike a note of realism to Pandits, Mahatmas, and those who now claim to speak for the helpless Indian masses, the Frontier is astir ; and British officers and soldiers are giving their lives to hold back from the cities and peacetime wealth of India the storm of Pathan inroad and foray."

London. Dec. 15—under the heading *Churchill must go* H.G. Wells in the Socialist Weekly *Tribune*, described the British Prime Minister as a *Would be British Fueher* .

"Either this war is an insane convulsion of mankind or else it is a war of democracy—the rule of the sovereign people—against the fueher principle. From our side it means that or nothing at all. It is the point blank refusal to hide ourselves to the commands of any individuals or group of individuals to pledge our-selves to blind obedience to any usurpation of power. There is no such thing as a ruler in a democratic state. The commonwealth has its ministers who serve it. There highest role is service and directly they attempt to turn their functions into personal power. It is the duty of every sound Democrat to disobey, frustrate, punish if necessary and get rid of them. There can be no exception to these simple and obivous propositions.

"Certain necessary disadvantages are the price Democracy pays for its conception of free speech and action.

"It has not the smoothness of concerted action that the gangster, whether Royalist or Nazi or brigand terrorist, displays.

"Since first the idea of law as a public interest has dawned on the world the prevention of crime has been a perplexing problem. The community does not know it is being attacked until the attack is sprung upon it. Then only can it put its repressive organization into action.

Winston Churchill the present would be British fueher, is a person with a range of ideas limited to the adventures and opportunities of British political life. He has never given evidence of thinking extensively, or of any scientific or literary capacity. His ignorance of contemporary social and physical science is conspicuous, and so he is naturally a fellow of that profoundly snobbish organisation, the Royal Society. His life shows a remarkable series of alternating phases of gallantry and sheer self-indulgent stupidity ; protean changes of habits.

"Now he seems to have lost his head completely. Oddly enough, though he seems to have forgotten it, that earlier exponent of the Marlborough tradition of the sivelling head-Lord Randolph Churchill, exploded himself in mid-career much as Winston is doing. Randolph, imagining himself indispensable "forgot Goschen," and passed into obscurity.

"That was merely overlooking one individual, but Winston seems to have overlooked everything that has happened since his pampered political infancy. In those days of the gold standard, all the world was in debt to Britain, and "Law and Order" enforced the due payment of debts. The "Haves" tightened their hold and multiplied the proportion of "Have nots," the secular extension of education spread unsettling ideas and a critical disposition broadcast throughout the world, the slumbering and once so acquiscent "Masses" were sitting up, taking notice exchanging and developing subversive ideas, quite unnoted by our spirited little adventurer, who pranced about the world, now liberal, now conservative, but getting more and more out of date as seemed opportune to him, ten years, twenty years, thirty years behind the times, but ever unscrupulous and pugnacious in the best family tradition. When the British people ever blistered with humiliation by the currish policy of the old Conservative gang in power, the pugnacity of Winston brought him to the fore. The country meant fighting, and he delighted in fighting, for want of a better he became the symbol of our national will for conflict, a role he has now outlived.

Since those early days world events have moved with a swiftnees this earth has never known before. In his youth "Around the world in Eighty Days" was a just plausible feat of the imagination, now a mean voice or the report true or garbled—of his acts and deeds, can be heard everywhere on our planet at the same moment. Now the world has become so unified that only very dull or very preoccupied minds can believe it is possible for separate monetary, educational, political and social organisations to exist side by side without immediate conflict. In the presence of genuine Democracy, Royalty is a challenge, in the presence of free speech and act party discipline is disloyalty. The British Prime Minister's, mind is dull only in his phases of relaxation, but it is now plainely in a phase of extreme reaction, entirely preoccupied with the petty enterprises of his own antiquated career. His ideology, picked up in the garrison life of India, on the reefs of South Africa, the maternal home and the conversation of wealthy conservative households, is a pitiful jumble of incoherent nonsense. A boy scout is better equipped. He has served his purpose and it is high time he retired upon his laurels before we forget the debt we owe him.

"His last associations with the various European Royalties who share his belief in the invincible snobbishness of mankind and are now sneaking back to claim the credit and express their condescending approval of the underground resistance movement that have sustained human freedom through its days of supreme danger are his final farewell to human confidence. We want him to go now—before he discredits us further, for his own sake as well as ours, and if he takes all the Royalties in the world with him—so such the better for human hope.

The matter is urgent. It is a grave attack upon our national morale. There can be no doubt of the feelings of the common people of England and of the rank and file about this ugly business in Greece and other countries under the heel of slapdash British Toryism. Our people have made enormous sacrifices to produce munitions for a united national effort. What is to prevent a working man asking. Why am I coverstraining myself to equip our usurper government which has long outstayed its mandate to suppress my fellow worker? What are these guns and shells going to do? In the midst of a still uncertain war, this ineffable Prime Minister of ours has precipitated us into the class war and on the wrong side. If we do not end Winston, Wlnston will end us."

H.G. Well's words were pregnant with wisdom. He could see that Churchill was betraying India and the expected result was a revenge from the side of the Indians who could not tolerate the political mischief which Winston was creating.

In 1957 the English took possession of Bengal, Siraj-Ud-Daula, the Nawab of Bengal, was incompetent. He was no match in intrigues for the Englishman Mr. Hober Clive, who was a clerk of the East India Company. Nayantara Sehgal tells us "Clive wanted the Nawab's Minister, Mir Jafar, to turn traitor and side with the English. Having prepared the ground in this way and by forging a document to strengthen his plot, Clive marched cut of Calcutta and defeated the Nawab in battle at plassey. This was a small battle in which the English victory won due more to treachery than to superior arms but it had important results. It laid the foundation of the British Empire in India."

From the above noted words of Nayantara Sehgal it is clear that the foundation of the British Empire in India was based on treachery. We can conclude, beyond doubt, that Clive was a master mind in making Mir Jafar a traitor. On account of Mir Jafar's betrayal Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula lost the battle of Plassey and for this reason Bengal passed into the hands of East India Company, which had began as a body of London Merchants with a trading charter from Queen Elizabeth. Now the traders of London became the controllers of the revenues of Bengal, now they were officials and could make huge fortunes for themselves by corrupting the people of Bengal. If Clive could forge a document other officers of the East India Company could also do the same, therefore, we can say that the foundation of British Empire in India was based on two great evils—forgery and treachery. It was in 1764 that the East India Company won the battle of Buxer against Mir Qasim who was the son-in-law of Mir Jafar. Shah Alam, the Mugal Emperor, came to his help. The battle of Buxar brought the province of Bihar also under the control of the East India Company before whom the Mugal Emperor was merely a puppet. The English were more successful than the French in the southern part of India. The reason was that East India Company was backed by its motherland while the French were not helped by the Government of France. By 1761 the French lost their influence in India and their possessions were reduced to three towns—Chandernagar, Pondicherry and Mahe.

The trading company known as English East Indian Company began to take possession of various provinces of India. Under the pretext of trade they carried away vast amount of India's wealth. The greed of its officials brought misery to the Indians who felt betrayed by their rulers. At one point of history 33% population of India died of total starvation in the famine of 1770. The East India Company never cared to take any kind of measures for the relief of the suffering people. They continued to collect full amount of land revenue in spite of the fact that the peasents could not afford to pay it to the rulers.

After Clive, Lord Hastings came to India. Both these great personalities, on their return to England were accused of corrupt practices by the Parliament of England. Lord Clive was censured. He committed suicide. I should like my readers to imagine the condition of Clive's mind when he ended his life with his own hands. After all he must have been convinced that he was betraying not only India but England also. Lord Hastings was acquitted after a long trial. But the trial is a conclusive proof to show that Hastings also committed some wrongs against India and betrayed the Indians. Although these two British rulers are considered as the Founders of British Empire in India, they never went down in history as uncensured by the people. They did betray India. But because a man is a doctor after his death, they were named as founders of the Empire. Until 1857 the large numer of English Governor-Gernerals ruled the Indian possessions of East India Company. Some of them were highly aggressive. They waged wars and annexed territories of Indian rulers. They advanced beyond Indian frontiers to attach Burma, Afghanistan and Nepal. Burma also came under the control of the British rulers.

Lord Dalhousie, the last Governor-General of the East India Company, had a three sided policy of annexation. first, he thought it was the right of British conquest; secondly he thought of the inefficiency of Indian rulers; thirdly he evolved what is known as the Doctrine of Lapse, according to which he made it known to the people that he would annex the territories of the Indian rulers, it they died without leaving a natural heir. They resented the Doctorine of Lapse. But conquests and annexations went on. Lord Cornwalis followed Hastings. He started a system of revenue collection which was called the Permanent Settlement. Under it the appointed *Zamindars* had to act as middlemen between the East India Company and the peasants. It was easier for the Company to deal with its chosen *Zamindars* than with the peasantry. This system was very hard on the latter who began to fear the *Zamindar* and his harsh method of collecting revenue. If he could not pay the land revenue he had to borrow from the village money-lender. Therefore, the peasent went deeper and deeper into debts, often setting all his land holdings. And the number of landless peasants began to grow. What had been for the English ruler a convenient way of collecting revenue became a tragic betrayal for the peasants. It was Lord Bentinck who first of all tried to improve the fiancial condition of the Indian sujects. He made many reforms; it was under him that we see a great reformer like Raja Ram Mohan Roy. It was in 1835 that Lord Bentinck decided that the medium of higher education in India would be English and that funds granted by the government for education would be used only for the study of English and the Western sciences.

Nayantara Sehgal writes in *Freedom Movement in India* "During its years of rule, the company were able to establish a firm economic hold on India. It had originally come to buy the fine Indian articles which were supplied to the markets of Asia and Europe since ancient times. For nearly two thousand years India had held a proud and unrivalled position in the world's trade. At first the Company had encouraged Indian Industries because it had made money out of them, but English manufactureres did not like this competition. They persuaded their Parlinment to tax Indian goods coming to England while English goods entered India without paying duty. Gradually this policy halted India's industrial development, making it a purely agricultural country that would supply raw materials for English factories, while English machine-made goods began to flow into Indian markets. The main Indian industries and many smaller ones collapsed. The textile industry was the first to decline, followed by ship-building, metal work, glass and paper. Millions of artisans and craftsmen were thrown out of work and into conditions of suffering and starvation. As the 19th century progressed the English built roads and railways which transported English goods all over India and took Indian raw material to ports for shipment overseas. India's own once flourishing industries were gradually ruined. Workmen began to leave the cities and go back to their villages to try and earn a living from agriculture, but there were too many people already trying to make a livelihood from the land."

The expansion of English education during Bentinck's administration was effected through the efforts of Macaulay. He planned the complete conquest of India through English language and litarature. "Macaulay was able to foresee that the Indians could be made Christians through the spread of English institutions in India. He believed that the teaching of Christianity would eventually lead to a widespread acceptance of a new and western religion in India. In this field he was proved wrong as his scheme of betraying India become known to many reformers who came forward to check the spread of Christianity in Indian. Bengal took the lead in the new stir of ideas that were needed for checking the spread of Christianity in India. The Bengalies reailsed that some changes were needed in the Hindu religion in those days therefore Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1883) began to educate the Hindu under his *Brahmo Samaj* which he founded in 1828. He tried to combine what he admired of enlightened western idea with the philosophy of the Hindu scriptures. Hinduism in those days was at a low ebb. It consisted of a variety of customs, many of which had become meaningless—with the passage of time Ram Mohan Roy realised it that the Hindu had been betrayed by the Brahmins. He himself was a Brahmin. Therefore he tried his best to do away with the evil practies of Hinduism."

The *Brahmo Samaj* was founded to cleanse Hinduism of all its evils e.g. polygamy, *sati*, the low status of women and the evils of caste system. The crusading spirit of the *Brahmo Samaj* went on spreading throughout the province of Bengal. In 1867 Keshub Chandra Sen founded the *Prarthana Samaj* of similar lines. One of its well-known members was Mahadev Govind Ranade who was later associated with the founding of the Indian National Congress. Swami Daya Nand tried his best to unite all Hindus under the philosophy of the *Vedas*. He founded the *Arya Samaj* which later on spread throughout India. His followers established many schools, colleges and universities.

The Vedanta Movement found the greatest leader in Swami Vivekananda He was a disciple of Rama Krishna Pramahanes.

Viveka Nanda founded the Ramakrishna Mission after the name of his *guru*. He believed that *Vedanta* had a message not only for India but for whole world. He trained his missionaries to spread *Vedanta* philosophy in all countries of the world. His lectures and writings acted as a tonic to his audience. By the end of the 19th century and in the first quarter of the 20th century his movement grew in strength. The Theosophists in India were lead by an Irish woman, Annie Besant (1847-1933). They spread their teachings by founding schools and colleges.

According to Nayantara Sehgal, "There was another aspect to the Hindu reformation besides its rediscovery of the *Vedas*. This was the revival of interest in the *Bhagavad Gita*. The reformation by itself would probably have remained a religious movement. New interpretation of the *Gita* broadened it into a social and political movement as well. A whole generation of scholars set about trying to interpret it to community. They chose to do this through the *Gita* because among all the scriptures it had long been looked upon by every Hindu sect as the most authoritative book on Hindu philosophy. So the *Gita*, one of the oldest and most sacred books of Hinduism, became the gospel of the modern age with a message calling for social and political action. Leading personalities, Aurobindo Ghosh and Tilak, and later Rajagopalachari, Mahatma Gandhi and Radhakrishnan wrote Commentaries on it and numerous popular versions of it in the Indian languages and in English reached the reading public.

"So after many hundred years Hinduism began to play a vigorous positive role in the country's life and that of these religious reformers that led to social changes such as the abolition of child marriage, the remarriage of widow, the relaxation of caste and concern for the untochable—all measures that struck at the heart of Hindu orthodoxy. Early nationalist feeling was, therefore, based on religion and its reform."

When the people of Bengal were agitating on lord Curzon's partition of Bengal, Bankim wrote his famous book *Anandmath*. It contained the song *Bande Matarm* which is popular throughout the country, its theme being service to the motherland. It became so popular with the masses that its singing became a crime in the eyes of British rulers of India. This is the height of tyranny because the singing of national song can never be a crime. India was betrayed when Indians were not allowed to sing their national anthem which they had chosen themselves for the love of their motherland.

Rabindranath Tagore was a great poet and an author of outstanding value. He took part in India's struggle for freedom when Bengal was being partitioned by Lord Curzon on the two-nation theory. Lord Curzon wanted to see a Hindu Bengal and a Muslim Bengal. Bengal did not like this idea. That is why a great agitation was made by them while opposing the efforts of Lord Curzon to divide Bengal into two parts. Bengal produced many scientiests like Sir Jagadish Chander Bose and Sir P.C. Ray. After them came the famous scientist Sir C.V. Raman, whose scientific contribution is known as Raman Rays. During this perid of reforms in India we find the research work of the European Orientialists like Sir William Jones, Max Muller and Monier Williams.

The Indian manufacturers of the 18th century were largely wiped out by the crooked policies of the East Indian Company because English merchants did not want Indians to compete against their goods. A new middle class was coming out of the old middle roaders of India and they started the Indian National Congress. Its founder was an Englishman, namely A.C. Hume. The Congress was set up in Bombay in December 1885 whose first president was W.C. Banerjee.

Nayantara Sehgal writes thus: "The history of the Congress became the history of India's struggle for freedom, though its beginning gave no indication that it would be anything apart from a loyal apposition to His Majesty's Government. It had official backing and Government officials attended its early sessions. At its second session in Calcutta in 1886, Lord Dufferin received some of its members as distinguished visitors and at its third session the following year in Madras, the Governor gave a garden party for the delegates. For its first twenty years Congress made moderate demands. The atmosphere after Revolt of 1857 was one of suspicion and distrust between British and Indians. Indians were kept out of the artillery sections of the army. Whenever there was a conflict between British and Indian interests in commerce, India's interests suffered and her economic development was help up. There were embargoes on the export of British machinery to India and tariffs for the protection of British manufacturers. In addition, in 1883 the European community in India had started a furious agitation against the Ilbert Bill by which Indian magistrates were to be given the power to try Europeans. The Europeans had declared that they would not be tried by black magistrates, and the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, had been forced to modify the Bill. The outburst of racial feeling had made Indians bitter. The Congress protested against all these unequal conditions. It asked for greater Indian representation in the higher services and reform in the legislatures. It also compalined of the huge expenses of English officials in the civil and military establishments and of the drain of India's gold and silver to England. The delegates even tried to educate British pubiic opinion about their demands through meetings and the distribution of pamphlets in England. They had high hopes that Britain's liberal ideas would apply to India and that Indians would be given a fair share of responsibility in their own affairs.

"Nobody at that time thought in terms of independence. India was a part of the British Empire and none of the early leaders imagined it breaking away. They wanted India's social and political advancement and worked steadily for it, but their patriotism was combined with loyalty to the British and many of them were awarded honours and titles for their distinguished services to the Crown. Not all of them were well acquainted with Indian conditions. They believed it was the job of the educated classes to govern and did not think in terms of the common man. In his welcome address to the Congress in 1896 Sir Ramesh Chandra Mitra said: "It is true in all ages that those who think must govern those who toil..."

Surendra Nath Banerjee (1848-1925) was a Brahmin and one of the first Indians to enter the I.C. S. by open competition in England. He was twice President of the Congress, and he became an all India figure when, after the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon in 1905, he organized the first movement for direct political action by boycotting British goods and calling on the public to buy *sawadeshi*. When the Monatagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced in 1921 he became a minister and he died a knight.

Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta 1845-1915 was a Parsi Barrister when Bal Gangadhar Tilak was inspiring the people of Maharashtra to revolt against the British. Pheroze Shah Mehta was betraying him because Mehta believed that Bal's method was a great danger to India. Actually speaking Pheroze Shah Mehta was pro-British. The moderate group in the Indian National Congress was led by Mehta and as leader of the Moderates Mehta was opposing the Extremist group which was led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. There is no doubt about this fact that as a barristar Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta had a soft corner for the British rulers of India. He never wanted to create strong agitation against the British Government of India. The betrayal of the Moderates is very much clear on the point that they opposed Mr. Tilak very bitterly.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) was a Brahmin who started his life as a teacher of Mathematics at the Forgusson College Poona in 1905. He established the Servants of India Society with a view to training Political workers to do the welfare work. This society did a very good work. Gokhale's mastery of facts and figures and his firm spirit of persuasiveness made the British recognize him as India's most capable spokesman. He worked very closely with the British government during the early stages of the Minto-Morley Reforms. We will try to mention somewhere, the speeches and ideologies of this new class of leaders that were born under the Indian National Congress. They included many traders, merchants, and industrialists. The British rulers had created a spirit in India under which all Indians felt the necessity of being united. The railways and communications linked up far flung areas of the country. There was a common rule of law and a centralized police system. The peaceful conditions in India prepared many people to sacrifice their worldy possessions for the sake of the country. During these peaceful times the British traders and industrialists made tonnes of gold by exporting their goods to India. The British goods were not taxed while the Indian goods were heavily taxed so that most of the Indians were attracted to buy articles made in England.

The Indian capitalists' joined hands with the leaders of the Indian National Congress. Among them were Dada Bhai Noroji and Mr. D. Wacha. The former was the President of the Indian National Congress for two sessions. Later on he became a member of the British Parliament also. He was a Parsi trader and as such the desired to make wealth by his association with the Indian National Congress. It is difficult to say that he was strongly agitating against the Britishes. Mr. D. Wacha was associated with the textile indstry. He was President of the Congress for many years. As a businessman he also wanted to push up his own industries. It was not until 1919 that M.K. Gandhi entered Indian political scene and suggested that the villages of India should be the first consideration of the nation. Under his guidance the peasants of India began to participate in the freedom struggle. Jawaharlal Nehru began to support Mr. Gandhi. The achievements of these great men have been recorded by me on same other pages of this book.

Nayantara Sehgal writes about the betraying rulers of the East India Company in the fifth chapter of the book *Freedom Movement of India*. Nayantara's book deserves to be appreciated by the critics of our country. It is the complete history of the Indian National Congress. Nayantara begins the book with the year 1707 when the last Mughal Emperor Aurangzed was dead. It is a beautiful work very nicely produced and brought out. It has been published by the National Council of Educational Research and Training. It is really a book of great value for researchers and writers. I am highly indebted to Nayantara Sehgal and her publisher because I received a lot of inspiration from this famous book that is why in my review of Nayantara's book I am producing Chaptar V of the said book so that my readers may come to realize the real value of this useful book.

In the fifth chapter of her book which I reproduce here, Nayantara Sehgal says: "When British became the dominant power in India, this country had a long history of manufacture and flourishing centres where goods were produced. The next step should have been gradual industralisation with the introduction of big machines. Instead of this, as a result of Britain's policies, India became more and more an agricultural country. Originally, the East India Company had come to buy manufactured goods. Later when British merchants found this competition harmful to their interests, they began to buy raw materials from India instead and to flood the country with their own machine-made goods—a policy that brought destruction to the traditional industries of India. Millions of artisans and craftsmen became unemployed and were forced to go back to their villages to try to find a livelihood. This led to the land being divided up into smaller and smaller plots as more men tried to find a place on it, and finally land holdings could no longer support even the peasant families that tilled them. The majority of India's people were peasants and as the peasant population continued to increase, the people lived on the verge of starvation. This then was the other side of the picture from the one we have just looked at, of the English-educated minority that was beginning to reap the rewards of British rule. The early 19th century saw the beginning of India's growing poverty which even today is a stumbling block to our progress. The mass of the people did not reap any rewards and were forced to live in conditions of want.

"The Indian cultivator had always given by way of tax a part of his agricultural produce to the Government. Sometimes the village panchayat had done this on behalf of the cultivators in a village. In Akbar's reign his Finance Minister, Raja Todar Mall, had made a survey of the land and fixed one third of the produce as the Government's share. This could be paid either in cash or in kind. But as the Mughal Empire decayed, and the central authority grew weaker, it could not collect tax properly and it appointed tax collectors who acted as agents of the Government. They were not given a salary but were allowed to keep a part of what they collected for themselves. Gradually the agent's occupation became hereditary and the Government became too weak to remove him. It is interesting to note that the first legal title of the East India Company in Bengal was that of agent on behalf of the Mughal Emperor in 1735. Actually, though it was called an agent, the Company was in fact the master of Bengal after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 while the Emperor had no power at all.

"The officials of the Company were in no way responsible for the good of the people, but only for collecting land revenue. They did this rigorously and often with violence. They increased the revenue demand on the land and appointed more revenue-farmers or *zamindars* to collect it, dismissing them if they did not do so punctually. The revenue-farmers were in turn cruel to the cultivators, ejecting them from their land if they did not pay promptly. This *zamindari* system was put into effect in Bengal and Bihar, and in a modified from in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. It added greatly to the miseries of the peasant. The foundations of the system were laid by Warren Hastings, and its abuses finally became so bad that the East India Company had to take notice of them. In 1793 Lord Cornwellis, Governor-General, came to a settlement with the *zamindars* of Bengal and Bihar. This was the Permanent Settlement, according to which the British recognized the *zamindars* as landlords and the cultivators as their tenants, after the British pattern. The British Government dealt directly with landlords, leaving the landlords to deal as they liked with the tenantry, and for the first time in India's history, the cultivator, who had traditionally owned the soil he tilled, was reduced to the position of a tenant on it. He could be thrown off his own land by the *zamindar* and he had no protection in cases of unjust or cruel treatment. The money-lender, who had scarcely been heard of till then, now became a power and a tyrant in the village, because the cultivator had to borrow heavily from him. This was how India's huge agricultural debt began. Often whole families lived and died in deep debt. The peasant became broken in spirit, never knowing how he could earn enough to feed his family, or free himself from his burden of debt. The new *zamindar* class, on the other hand, was loyal to the Government as it benefited greatly from the Permanent Settlement.

"The Permanent Settlement also fixed the amount of land revenue to be paid by each *zamindar* to the Government. The amount was fixed permanently for Bengal and Bihar, and later as British rule extended to Oudh and Agra, the Government made temporary settlements with the *zamindars* of those provinces. Each temporary settlement had to be revised periodically, usually every thirty years, and the amount off and revenue was fixed afresh each time, usually increasing at each settlement.

"The *zamindari* system did not extend all over India. The South had no *zamindars*. It had peasant proprietors and the British dealt directly with them. But even there the East India Company fixed land revenue at a very high figure and ejected peasants if they could not pay. As the peasant had nowhere else to go and no other occupation, he had to accept the hard conditions imposed on him so that he could remain on his land.

"Another development connected with the land took place in Bengal in the mid-19th century. The British established themselves as landlords of indigo plantations. The peasants who cultivated the land as their tenants were made to grow indigo in part of their holdings and to sell it at a fixed rate to their landlords (or planters). The planters had the backing of the Government which had passed special laws to force the tenants to cultivate indigo. They could not, for example, grow rice or other crop which might have been more profitable when the price of indigo fell.

"The many burdens on the peasant in the 19th century the *zamindari* system, the plantation system and high revenue which were mercilessly collected— could only lead to tragic results. Between 1861 and 1900 there were four devastating famines in India. In 1878 Florence Nightingale wrote: 'The saddest sight to be seen in the east—nay, probably in the world—is the peasant of our Eastern Empire.' She said the consequences of British policies had produced 'in the most fertile country in the world, a grinding, chronic semi-starvation in many places where what is called famine did not exist.'

"While the agricultural debt was growing and the peasants becoming poorer, the condition of industry was not improving. In order to promote

Britian's policy to sell its own machine-made goods to India and buy only raw materials, roads and railways began to be built to transport British goods. The first railway was built in Bombay in 1853. New cities grew up along the seacoast—Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and later Karachi—which became centres where raw materials were collected and sent to foreign countries and where foreign goods, mostly from Britain, were received for sale and distribution in India. But these cities were not great manufacturing centres like the big industrial cities of Europe. They did not produce anything of their own. The Government put a duty on machinery entering India, so until 1860 when this was withdrawn, the cost of building a factory in India was four times greater than building one in England. But gradually during the 1870's Indian factories were established where machine-made industries began to be organised. Even then the large-scale industries like tea, jute, and coal were controlled by Europeans. The textile industry of Bombay and Ahmedabad which was growing with Indian capital was discouraged by the Government by a tax called an excise duty. The purpose of this tax was to help English cotton cloth to compete against Indian cloth. Most countries put duties on foreign articles so that their own industries will not suffer, but in India the opposite was true, with a tax being put by the British Government on Indian goods so that British goods entering India would not suffer" Just imagine the condition of the British minds they were betraying the Indian peasants and those who were promoting Indian Industry."

Nayantara Sehgal further tells us:

"The plight of industrial workers during these times was as bad as that of English factory workers a hundred years earlier. There were so many landless and unemployed workers that labour could be cheaply obtained and working conditions were very hard. An organized labour movement was started towards the end of the 19th century by N.M. Lokhande, a factory worker himself. He established the Bombay Mill-hands Association, and became its first president. This led to the formation of other such associations, of railway, postal and printing press workers, all of which agitated against the evils of the factory system and demanded better working conditions.

"Their were so many labourers that the factories could not give them all employment and many went to work on the plantations, or emigrated to other countries, Ceylon, Malaya, Mauritius, Trinidad, South and East Africa and other places. They went usually "indentured" labourers. An indenture is a contract that binds the worker to his master. India began to hear a lot about these workers at the end of the 19th century when a young and unknown Barrister, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, took up their cause in South Africa."

Lord Curzon's policies were making him unpopular. They were causing a great deal of resentment in the Indians. The amended officials Secret Act of 1904 made criticism in the newspapers a punishable offence if the Government of India felt that the people were creating contempt against it. The Indians believed this Act as a great interference with their civil liberties. The Universities Act of Lord Curzon was aiming at the British control of higher education. Lord Curzon's comments on Indian character enraged all public opinion against him. I am quoting Curzon's words which he spoke on the Budget proposals of 1904. He said thus:

"The highest rank of civil employment in India must as a general rule be held by Englishmen for the reason that they possess, partly by heredity, partly by up-bringing, and party by education, the Knowledge of the Principles of Government, the habits of mind, and the vigour of character, which are essential for the task."

From these words the readers of this book can imagine that Lord Curzon was betraying the Indians in many spheres of life. He thought that Indians were not good administrators. According to him, the Indian habit of mind and the Indian character as a whole was not fit for civil service. Naturally the Indians felt annoyed with this young Viceroy who was only 24 years of age when he came to India as the Ist man of the country.

Addressing the convocation of Calcutta University in 1905 Lord Curzon spok thus:

"Truth took a high place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where Craftination, Diplomation, Skill have always been held in much repute". Lord Curzon ended his speech by denying "their was any such thing as an Indian Nation. The enlightened people of India could not tolerate him when Curzon never liked to believe in the Indian Nation which was there before his very eyes. People could not respect such a Viceroy of India who thought people of the East were Crafty."

In a letter to the Secretary of State in 1900 Lord Curzon wrote thus:

"My own feeling is that congress is tottering to its fall and one of my great ambitions, while in India, is to assist it to a peaceful demise."

These words show that Lord Curzon wanted to see the murder of Indian nationhood. He never realized the birth of the Indians whom he always betrayed. The greatest betrayal of Curzon was clear from his proposal to divide Bengal into two parts simply on communal grounds. To his superiors he was speaking in terms of efficient administration. The division of Bengal was to be based on religious majority areas, Hindu and Muslim, and Curzon made no secret of his aim to create a province where Muslims could dominate over the Hindus. It became the deliberate policy of Britain to create and encourage the demand among the Muslims for a nation of their own. It was a sheer betrayal of India. Nawabzada Atik Ullah Khan spoke against the partition of Bengal at the Congress of 1906. The Bengalies felt Curzon was trying to break up their unity and solidarity and to stir up religious differences. Huge processions were taken out in the streets in protest against the move. Bankim Chandra's, *Bande Mataram*, became the rallying cry and so inspired the people that the Government issued a circular banning the song in public places. Rabindranath Tagore threw himself into the movement. D.L. Roy and Rajani Kant Sen fostered the spirit of revolt. Surendra Nath Banerjee raised the *Swadeshi* slogan. He organised a boycott of British goods and public bonfires were made of them. Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932) was the most eloquent mouthpiece of the mlitant temper of Bengal. He preached a relentless boycott of British goods, schools, and administration. A change came over Bipin Chandra's thinking after 1910. From that time he seemed no longer to be in touch with popular feelings and political trends in the country. Ten years later he faced unsympathetic audiences when he opposed Gandhi's non-cooperation programme. Was he betraying India almost unconsciously? A question to be pondered over.

An associate of Bipin Chandra's and one of the most unusual men of the time, was Aurobindo Ghosh (1872-1950).

Aurobindo was brought up and educated in England. He returned to India at the age of twenty-one to join the Baroda State Service. He was arrested in connection with the Alipore Bomb case, when a bomb intended for the district Judge of Muzzaffarpur, in retaliation for the death of an Indian killed two innocent English women instead. Aurobindo was defended by a rising young lawyar Chittaranjan Das and acquitted. But during the year he spent in prison he went through a spiritual transformation. He retired from politics in 1910 to found an *ashram* in Pondicherry and to become one of India's great spiritual teachers. He started the Hindu Orphan Relief Movement, the first attempt at organized charity among Hindu Philanthropists, to rescue famine victims. He urged the need for technical education for Indians and a greater share for them in industry and banking. His writings did much to help in the national awakening.

In 1908 the Nawspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act was passed. Under this Act seven presses were confiscated. In 1910 the Indian Press Act gave the Government more powers to control the press. During the next five years the Government collected five lakh rupees as securities and fines from newspapers. Over five hundred publications were banned. Indian newspapers functioned under the threat of prosecution if they printed views opposed to the Government. The English-owned press, on the other hand, was closely allied with Government policies and was under no such threat. When Indian public opinion was united against Curzon, the English-owned newspapers gave him their full support. There were exceptions, the most notable among them, an English editor, Benjamin Guy Horniman of the *Statesman,* who walked barefoot, in Indian dress, in Calcutta in a demonstration against partition. A champion of the Indian cause, Horniman was deported from India in 1919.

"The Government," says Nayantara, "was not prepared for the Bengal upsurge. It took ruthless measures to crush the agitation. Public meetings were broken up by force, peaceful pickets were beaten and the press was rigidly censored. But these measures only made the public more angry and boycott and protests continued. Since open opposition was not permitted, the agitation went underground and became violent. Secret societies were organized and they began to preach open revolution and to indulge in acts of terrorism."

In Maharashtra a powerful leader rose, Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), who along with the Bengal leaders, Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal, and Lala Lajpat Rai became the prophet of a fiery nationalism. Out of these, three men were known as "Lal, Bal, Pal".

"Swaraj is my birth right," Bal declared, "and I will have it". He spoke to his people through his newspaper *Kesari* to unite them in the name of Shivaji . . . Appreciating the political activities of Bal, Pal and Lal Nayantars Sehgal says thus:

"Tilak's towering personality made him a hero all over India and he came to be known as Lokamanya or Revered by the People. In his articles in *Kesari,* he had bluntly criticized the high-handed measures with which the Government had tried to check the bubonic plague in his province. Poona city had been placed under military guard and British soldiers rigorously carried out sanitary inspection, entering homes to examine men, women and children. The people were infuriated at the way this was done and as a result two unpopular British officers were assassinated. Tilak was charged with inciting this violence through his writings and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. It was the first political sentence of its kind and it gave a death blow to armchair leadership in politics.

"Meanwhile, the Congress, which was used to quiet, dignified politics, did not support Tilak's agitation. Since he could not win the party over, Tilak along with his supporters, Lala Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal, was forced to form his own group within the Congress known as the extremists. The main body of the Congress consisted of the moderates and its ablest leader was Gokhale. The moderates and extremists both wanted self-government but they differed about how to work for it. The moderates still believed in constitutional measures. The extremists wanted more decisive action." The moderates and extremists began to drift further and further. At the Surat session the extremists left the Congress.

The Government took advantage of the split to weaken the national movement. It deported Lala Lajpat Rai to Burma for six months. Tilak was accused of inflaming public opinion through his articles in *Kesari* and sentenced to six years' imprisonment in Mandlay, and his group was severely suppressed. The textile workers of Bombay went on a six-day strike, the first political strike of workers in India. It was a protest against injustice.

The Government made a move to win over the moderates and announced that it would introduce constitutional reforms. These were named the Morley-Minto Reforms, and they were contained in the Indian Councils Act of 1909.

Although the principle of elections was granted for the first time to India, it meant little. It was not a free election in which all adults could take part. And the Councils had no powers. They could only advise and criticise. Legislative Councils were elected only by special privileged groups and they were responsible not to the people but to the Viceroy. Actual power remained with the Viceroy. Lord Morley, Secretary of State, made it clear in the House of Commons in 1908, He said, "If it could be said that this chapter of reform led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing to do with it." Was it a betrayal or illusion of the mind? The Act recognized the principle of communal representation, i.e. only Muslim voters could vote for the seats reserved in the Councils for Muslims. This was part of the British Government's policy begun in Lord Curzon's time. In 1906 the Government supported a Muslim deputation to the Viceroy led by the Agha Khan, which made a claim for special seats or electorates, and in the same year, encouraged by the Viceroy's response, Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca founded the Muslim League. Its aim was to protect Muslim interests and to ensure Muslim loyalty to the Government. Lord Morley welcomed the Muslim League as a "native opposition" to the Congress. It was a great betrayal that later on resulted into the partition of India. In 1911 during the visit of King George and Queen Mary to India, the King made two announcements. He cancelled the partition of Bengal and announced the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to New Delhi. The Indian atmosphere was far from calm and a bomb was thrown at the Viceroy as his elephant passed through Chandni Chowk on his state entry into the city. He was injured and one of his attendants was killed. When the Extremists left the Congress it lost much of its influence. It continued to hold its sessions once a year but there was no noteworthy political activity in the country. The political scene was quiet when the first world war broke out in 1914. Mr. Gandhi promised to help the Government of India in their war efforts if after victory India was to be granted freedom. Indians on the whole had no quarrel with Germany. There was, in fact, widespread sympathy for Germany's ally, Turkey. Britain's attack on Turkey led to strong anti-British feeling among the Muslims. The Muslim league joined forces with the Congress at its Lucknow session in 1916 and adopted a joint programme known as the Lucknow Pact. Among other points this pact laid down the proportion of seats to be reserved for the Muslims in the Councils. Congress thus accepted the principle of communal electorates while the Muslim League joined in the demand for *Swaraj*. Here we find that the Indian National Congress was bargaining with Muslim League. Congress was betraying its own ideals. When Tilak came out of prison after six years he and Mrs. Annie Besant started Home Rule Leagues to continue the demand for self-government. Tilak had a bitter feeling. He thought that he was being betrayed by his followers and colleagues. Two years later they split again. Britain was involved in the war but people hoped that as soon as it was over, there would be some changes in the Government's policy towards India.

Nayantara Sehgal has pointed it out in the following words: "Within a few months of the War's end it became clear that Britian was not going to relax her political hold either. In 1919 a Government of India Act containing the new concessions announced by Montague was passed. It was to come into effect in 1921. In appearance a big step forward towards self-government was taken as Indian Ministers (though still elected by special groups) responsible to the legislature were given charge of certain departments in the Provinces, but actually at the Centre, in the Government of India, the Viceroy continued to be all-powerful, He could introduce measures that the provincial legislatures had thrown out and he could rule by ordinance if he thought fit. The system known as dyarchy was started in the provinces and the provincial government was divided into two parts. Certain important subjects such as law and order, revenue and finance, remained under the provincial British Governor's control, while other subjects such as education, sanitation, local government, industry, etc. were transferred to Ministers. These concessions were so short of expectations that all the political parties were disappointed. And even before they could be put into effect the Government began preparing to pass the Rowlatt Bills, giving it the power to imprison and deport people without trial, and to control the press. There was an outcry all over the country and the Rowlatt Bills became known as the Black Bills. One of the persons who took a lead condemning them was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi."

The Rowlatt Bills became law. April 6, 1919, was to be known as *Satyagraha* Day all over India. It was against the Rowlatt Bill. It was the first time when folks, villagers and people of all communities had united for a common purpose and the success of the programme was immediate. At Jallianwala Bagh on April 13, 1919 General Dayer's troops fired 1650 rounds upon a crowd of over six thousand killing more than four hundred and wounding over a thousand in a walled enclosure from which there was no escape. The massacre at Jallianwala Bagh was a turning point in the struggle for freedom. Indians were sick at heart over the massacre. They were shocked at the praise he received in the House of Lords. Rabindranath Tagore symbolized the country's bitter disillusionment when he returned his Knighthood to the British Government. The faith that India would gradually atttain its self-government was shattered. India was really betrayed by the British. Otherwise Tagore would not have returned his Knighthood. The Congress session that year was held at Amritsar. Thousands of delegates and visitors visited Jallianwala Bagh as a place of piligrimage. In his presidential address Motilal Nehru said: "If our lives and honour are to remain at the mercy of an irresponsible executive and military, if the ordinary rights of human beings are denied to us, then all talk of reform is a mockery". This mockery was nothing short of a betrayal. Gandhi now proposed a nationwide capaign of non-cooperation. He explained that it would mean titles bestowed by the Government were to be given up. Offfcial functions, officials schools, colleges and the law courts were to be boycotted, as were the Councils set up under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. These boycotts were later extended to the civil and military services and the payment of taxes.

Boycotts arose out of the British betrayal. A new cry *Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai* filled the air. The Khilafatt Committee led by the Ali brothers, now out of chain, began to follow Mahatma Gandhi's programme. The Muslim League also joined the non-cooperation movement.

On September 7, 1920, M.A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, announced that: "These is no other course open to the people except to inaugurate the policy of non-cooperation, though not necessarily the programme of Mr. Gandhi". The non-cooperation movement wad decidedly a programme of Mr. Gandhi. Therefore, we can say with confidence that Mr. Jinnah was jealous of Mr. Gandhi. On account of jealousy Jinnah was betraying Gandhi' movement. This betrayal was very clear from the above words. He could never tolerate the supremacy of Gandhi and at every step in the politics of India he was not prepared to give any kind of credit to Mahatma Gandhi. Jinnah himself wanted to snatch away all credit for himself. He used to say "This old man may hypnotise the whole world but he cannot hypnotise Mr. Jinnah.

The leaders of the non-cooperation movement were extremely active. They could not tolerate the betrayal of the Indians at the hands of the British Rulers of India. Among those leaders the famous names were C.R. Dass, Moti Lal, Jawahar Lal, Rajinder Prasad, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad.

The first non-cooperation movement dazzled the people of India. About thirty thousand people went to jail. In 1922 the events of Chauri Chaura (near Gorakhpur) displeased Mahatma Gandhi. At this place a clash between the farmers and the police ended in the burning of a police station at the hands of the farmers. Gandhi was shocked to hear that the farmers could burn a police station. Such step was really dangerous for the whole of India because the British rulers could punish the Indians in a very bad manner. So Gandhi talked about his spirit of non-violence. He did not side with these people who had burnt the police station. Was he batraying the people? This question has never been answered correctly by the intellectuals of India. Gandhi thought that he and his countrymen were very weak before the British army. Therefore he withdrew the movement by saying "I cannot tolerate violence". In March 1922 Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. The Congress became uncertain about the programme. In 1923 Moti Lal Nehru and C.R. Dass farmed the *Swaraj Party* within the Congress with the Idea that their followers could enter the legislative councils. Under the new programme Congressmen all over India participated in the elections of 1923. Were they betraying the country. Perhaps not. Several of them were elected to the muncipalities. C.R. Dass became the Mayor of Calcutta. Vithal Bhai Patel became the President of Ahemdabad Muncipal Committee. The Muslims had orginally joined the movement because of Gandhi's sympathy with the Khilafat Movement. Therefore we cannot say that Ali brothers were very much faithful to Mahatma Gandhi. It is difficult to answer if we ask anybody "Did the Ali brothers betray India?" In 1928 the Sioman Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Sioman visited India. The Indians showed him black flags in all towns. At Lahore Lala Lajpat Rai met the Commission on the Railway Station with black flags. He was beaten by the police. As a result of the injury Lajpat Rai died subsequently.

In 1929, the Governmement arrested 32 labour leaders on no specific charge and started a case against them, known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. After a trial lasting four years nearly all the accused were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, though these sentences were later reduced.

During this period, three acts of terrorism attracted public attention. One was the shooting by the young Bhagat Singh of the British officer in Lahore. The second was the throwing of a bomb in the Assembly in Delhi by Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwara Dutt. Bhagat Singh, who had become a national hero, was executed in 1931. The third was an Indian raid on the armoury in Chittagong in 1930. Bhagat Singh's revolutionary activities were based on his belief that India had been betrayed by the British rulers.

In October 1929, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, announced that a Round Table Conference was to be attended by all political parties that would take place in London. The Congress meeting in Lahore in December under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru declared a boycott of the Conference.

In March 1930 Gandhi opened the new phase of non-cooperation by announching that he would break the salt law. He wrote to Lord Irwin, the Vicercy, to let him know of his intention: "Dear friend: Before embarking on civil disobedience I would fain approach you and find a way out. . . the much wanted Permanent Settlement benefits a few rich *zamindars*, not the *Ryots* (peasants). The *Ryot* has remained as helpless as ever. He is mere tenant at will. . . The British system seems designed to crush the very life out of him. Even the salt he must use to live is so taxed as to make the burden fall heaviest on him. . . If you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the 11th day of this month, I shall proceed with such co-workers of the *ashram* as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the salt laws. . . . It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope that there will be tens of thousands ready, in a disciplined manner, to take up the work after me, and in the act of disobeying the Salt Act, to lay themselves open to the penalties of a law that should never have disfigured the statute book".

Gandhi left his *ashram* on March 19, 1930, with seventy-eight followers whose ages ranged from sixteen to sixty-one. He was the eldest. Jawaharlal Nehru said: "Today the pilgrim marches onward on his long trek. Staff in hand he goes along the dusty roads of Gujarat, clear-eyed, firm of step, with his faithful band trudging along behind him. . . the fire of a great resolve is in him and surpassing love of his miserable countrymen, and love of truth that scorches and love of freedom that inspires." The march was joined by thousands of supporters along the way.

They reached Dandi on April 5th.

This is how Nayantara Sehgal describes the Dandi Campaign of Mahatma Gandhi.

"The salt pans were surrounded with barbed wire stockade and ditches filled with water, and guarded by 400 Surat police with six or seven British officers in command. The police carried *lathis* and five-foot steel-tipped clubs. Inside the stockade twenty-five rifelemen stood ready. The *satyagrahis* drew up a hundred yards from the stockade and picked column advanced, wading through the ditches and approaching the barbed wire. The police ordered them to stop but they continued to go forward." An American journalist, Miller, who came on the scene, reports what happened next: "Suddenly at a word of command, scores of native police rushed upon the advancing marchers and rained blows on their heads with steelshod *lathis*. Not one of the marchers even raised an arm to fend off the blows. They went down like ninepins. From where I stood I heard sickening whacks of the clubs on unprotected heads. The waiting crowd of watchers groaned and sucked in their breaths in sympathetic pain at every blow. Those struck down fell sprawling unconscious or writhing in pain with fractured skulls or broken shoulders. In two or three minutes the ground was gutted with their bodies. Great patches of blood widened on their white clothes. The survivors without breaking the ranks silently and doggedly marched on until struck down. . . Although every one knew that within a few minutes he would be beaten down, perhaps killed, I could detect no signs of wavering or fear." Miller went on to say: "In eighteen years of my reporting in twenty countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable civil disturbances, riots, street fights and rebellions, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes as at Dharasana."

During the 1930s India's non-violent crusade aroused astonishment and admiration, as other countries read of unarmed people standing up to the military might of an Empire.

After Gandhi's arrest on May 4th, there was a wave of strikes and *hartals*. In Bombay, 50,000 textile workers put down their tools and railway workers joined a vast demonstration.

The police retired from the scene. At Poona, where Gandhi was imprisoned, a number of officials announced their resignations. Nearly 100,000 people went to prison.

Government repression was brutal. There were *lathis* and cavalry charges all over the country. The police fired on crowds in Calcutta, Madras and Karachi. In Peshawar, where armoured cars were used to disperse a huge demonstration on April 23rd, a car was burnt and though its occupants escaped, the police fired freely on the crowds in retaliation. Two platoons of the Second Battalion of the 18th Royal Garhwal Rifles (Indian troops) refused to open fire on their own countrymen and a number of them laid down their arms.

On March 4, 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was made. With this truce, non-cooperation was suspended and the Government released political prisoners and stopped its policy of repression. Congress agreed to join the Round Table Conference when it met again and this time it sent Gandhi as its only delegate. The session was disappointing.

Indian Muslims got Gandhi's sympathy for the *Khilafat* cause in support of the Caliph of Turkey. But the *Khilafat* was now no longer an issue. There the Muslims betrayed us.

In 1928, the Simon Commission, named after its Chairman, Sir John Simon, visited India and was met by big demonstrations urging, "Simon, go back". There were lathi charges against the demonstrators.

The British Parliament passed the Government of India Act (1935). There were to be elections to the provincial legislatures. A federation between the provinces of British India and the princely states, was made. The Viceroy and the British Governors of the provinces were still to have special powers to overrule the legislatures. The Congress condemned the Act, Elections were held in British India in 1937 and the Congress agreed to take part in them. It decided to carry on the fight for greater self-government within the legislatures, on the condition that the British Governors must work in cooperation with their Indian Ministers and not exercise their special powers. The Viceroy agreed to this condition.

The election results were exciting for the Congress. It won majorities in seven out of the eleven provinces of British India. In England the conservative *Times* admitted: "Its record of success has been impressive . . . The party's proposals have been more positive and more constructive than those of its opponents. The party has won its victories on issues which interested millions of Indian rural voters and scores of millions who had no votes".

Non-congress ministries were formed in Bengal and Punjab. The Muslim League wanted to form coalition ministries with the Congress, When this was refused, Jinnah declared: "Muslims can expect neither justice nor fair play under a Congress Government."

Mr. Jinnah was always suspicious about Gandhi and his followers. He was in the habit of betraying India as he wanted the formation of Pakistan.

Poland was at loggerheads with Nazi Germany over the question of Danzig, the Polish-held free port on the Baltic whose people were German speaking. Jack Kennedy wrote to his father from Warsaw, "Probably the strongest impression I have gotten is that rightly or wrongly the Poles will fight over the qucstion of Danzig."

Neither he nor the Poles knew that they would indeed be fighting ere long, but not over Danzig. On April 4, 1939, just a short time after Jack's trip, Hitler secretly ordered his generals to prepare plans for the invasion of Poland and set September 1 as the target date, although he subsequently told his generals in a secret conference, "Danzig is not a subject of dispute".

Along the Baltic, the Polish-German friction and the antagonism between the small states of Latavia, Esthonia, and Lithuania, on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other continued; in Moscow, the hatred of the West and fear of Germany, in Turkey, the ages-old hostility towards Russia. In Palestine, Arabs, Jews, and Britons walked cautiously, and there were rumours that Nazi agents were dealing with the Grand Mufti, Haj Amin el Husseini. The Balkans were continuing the intrigues that were synonymous with that region. In Berlin, the pitiless men with the *swastikas* on their arms were talking about the need for *Labesraum* (living space) in the East, and about their poor colinguists in East Prussia, but one sensed that they were even more absorbed with the possibilities of expansion in the West.

Events were now moving at breakneck speed as the world plunged into the darkness of the abyss. On August 23 the Russo-German peace pact was signed and the next day the stunning announcement of it broke upon a bewildered world.

Three days later Hitler served Poland with an ultimatum demanding the immediate cession of Danzing and the Polish Corridor separating East Prussia from Germany proper. On August 29 Hitler offered to negotiate the issue and ordered Poland to send a delegation to Berlin on August 31. The Poles, naturally decided that there was nothing to negotiate; they refused to send a delegation.

At dawn on the first of September 1939, without warning or declaration of war, the planes and tanks and trucks of Hitler's motorized war machine crossed the border into Poland and churned up the dust of the Polish plains as they roared toward Warsaw.

On the same day, there were hurried consultations in the foreign offices of London and Paris, and the two Allied nations gave Adolf Hitler an ultimatum of their own: Withdraw your troops and call off the Blitzkrieg, they demanded.

On September 3, England and France declared war on Germany in support of their Polish ally.

On September 5, the United States Department of State proclaimed American neutrality in the European conflict.

On September 17 Soviet troops invaded Poland from the East as part of the plans free earning up the country with the Nazis.

Mr. William H.A. Carr tells us in his book, JFK.

"At 3 O'clock in the morning on September 4, the day after war was declared, the telephone rang in the United States Ambassador's country house outside London. An Embassy aide was on the phone to report a war incident involving Americans. The SS Athenia of the Donaldson Atlantic Line, Captain James Cook Commanding, had been attacked without warning by torpedoes of a U-boat 250 miles off the northwest coast of Ireland just twelve hours after the declaration of war. Abroad the Athenia, which had taken on passengers at Glasgow, Belfast, and Liverpool, were 1,102 men, women, and children, plus a crew of 315. There were three hundred Americans among the passengers and most of the rest were Canadians—the unarmed ship was bound for Canada.

"The ship was off the regular shipping lanes for safety against submarines, and was zigzagging that Sunday evening when Oberleutnant Fritz Julius Lemp of the U-30 gave the order that sent four torpedoes slipping through the water towards the ship. One of the torpedoes found its mark in the 13,500 ton liner. Lifeboats and rafts were launched from the doomed ship as the radio operator began sending out frantic calls for help. Fortunately, the attack had occured in an area where there was considerable ocean traffic: in a short time other vessels were on the scene and began to pick up survivors.

"But twenty-seven men, sixty-nine women, and sixteen children went down with the shattered hulk."

Ambassador Kennedy despatched his son Jack to Glasgow to question the survivors who had been taken there (other survivors were landed at Belfast and Halifax). Jack's investigation established beyond doubt that an enemy submarine had been responsible for the sinking—a fact which Radio Berlin was disputing. It was hitler's line that the British had sunk the ship themselves to earn American sympathy!

Another part of Jack's assignment was to arrange for passage to America for the survivors. He assured them that they would be able to go home on an American ship, but that did not satisfy them. "We don't want just an unarmed American liner!" they shouted. "We want a convoy! We demand the protection of the United States flag! Send our Navy here to protect us on the way home!" But he had to tell them that such a convoy —under United States naval protection—was out of the question. Because of the Neturality Act American men of war could not be used to convoy ships in the war zone.

What a fast pace the aggressor nations—Germany, Italy, Japan were and how slow the democracies, like Great Britain, had been to respond to the quickened pace. People tended to be too emotional about the Munich appeasement pact and that they were too ready to blame Neville Chamberlain and his predecessor, Stanley Baldwin, for the policy of appeasement. Actually, policy of appeasement was the result of profound social forces.

At that time, Joe Kennedy agreed with Nevile Chamberlain's appeasement policy, "The Munich Pact itself should not be object of criticism," he wrote, "but rather the underlying factors, such as the state of British opinion and the condition of Britain's armaments which made 'surrender' inevitable. To blame one man, such as Baldwin, for the unpreparedness of British armanents is illogical and unfair, given the conditions of democratic government."

The Nazis staged their first great offensive after Poland. Denmark, Norway, The Netherlands, Belgium collapsed under the Blitzkrieg. The troops of the Third Reich outflanked the Maginot Line and swept deep into France. The British pulled out the remants of their forces at Dunkirk.

England did not have a chance of fighting off the Nazis. Britishers became more isolationist than ever.

In India Subhash Chandra Bose was elected president of the Congress in 1938 and again in 1939. His re-election led to differences as his views clashed with Gandhi's and those of other leaders. Subhash Bose resigned soon after his re-election to form the Forward Bloc within the Congress.

In September 1939 Hitler's troops marched into Poland. Britain was forced to declare war on Germany. Once again India, as part of the British Empire, was brought into a world war without being consulted. Now India was not willing to let her men, money and other resources be used by the British Government. On September 14, 1939 the Congress Working Committee declared: ". . . the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people and no outside authority can impose this decision . . . . India cannot asociate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her . . . . ." India wanted to cooperate in the war effort with Britain but only as an equal partner. The Congress asked the Viceroy to set up a national Government in Delhi immediately.

In March 1940 Mohammed Ali Jinnah, called for the division of India and the formation of a separate state, Pakistan, for the Muslims. Thus Pakistan, a new word and a new demand, entered Indian politics. The Muslim League said it would not accept any constitutional plan for India did not agree to the formation of Pakistan. A moral protest, against the war and against India being drawn into it without her consent was started by Vinoba Bhave. Vinoba opened the campaign with an anti-war spech on October 17,1940. He was arrested four days later and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested on the October 31st 1940 and sentenced to four years. His speech at the trial of Gorakhpur prison became famous: "I stand before you, sir, as an individual being tried for certain offences against the State. You are a symbol of that State. But I am something more than an individual also. I am . . a symbol of Indian nationalism rosolved to break away from the British Empire and achieve the independence of India. It is not me you are seeking to judge and condemn but rather the hundreds of millions of people of India . . . Perhaps it may be that though I am standing before you on my trial, it is the British Empire itself that is on its trial before the bar of the world."

On January 27, 1941, came the news of Subhash Bose's sensational escape from his house in Calcutta. He was guarded by the Police. He was next heard as the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian National Army when Japan's victorious armies reached the borders of India.

Here is in brief the war situation. Japan was now in the war on the side of the dictators and India was facing the serious threat of a Japanese invasion. The Congress was more convinced than ever that ". . . Only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national scale. . ."

Japan betrayed Bose who was the Greatest Freedom Fighter of 1942. By invading not only Burma but Calcutta also, Japan betrayed the Indians.

On March 7, 1942, therefore, Winston Churchill, then England's Prime Minister, announced that the British War Cabinet had agreed on a plan for India and that it would be conveyed to the Indian leaders by Sir Stafford Cripps who visited India and left our country on 12th April, 1942.

The failure of the Cripps Mission convinced the Congress that Britain was not willing to part with real power in India. The need to organize a strong defence against the Japanese made it vital that India should have control of her own affairs. The Congress felt that the transfer of power to India could no longer be delayed. On August 8, 1942, in Bombay the All India Congress Committee adopted the 'Quit India' Resolution calling for the immediate end of British rule, this had became vital and immediate issue on which depended the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. India could no longer be betrayed as the 'cards' were open on both sides of the players.

Mahatma Gandhi told a crowded gathering: "Here is a *mantra*, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The *mantra* is: Do or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt. We shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery." He said that non-violence was all the more important to him now that so much of the world was being consumed by the flames of war and hatred. He believed India must hold to it, even if it meant holding to it alone in a war-torn world, even if nobody understood her stand. He said: "That something in me which never deceives me tells me now that you have to stand against the whole world, although you may have to stand alone. You have to stare the world in the face, although the world may look at you with bloodshot eyes."

The AICC session ended at ten o'clock that night. Gandhi was arrested early next morning. The entire Working Committee had already been arrested along with other Congress members. Mahadev Desai and Kasturba died during their imprisonment. The members of the Working Committee were taken to an unknown destination. Among them were Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Asaf Ali, Maulana Azad, Govind Ballabh Pant, Acharya Kripalani, Syed Mahmud, Narendra Dev, Pattabhi Siarammaya and P.C. Ghosh. No one knew until they were released after the war that they had been jailed in the Fort at Ahmednagar.

Serious disturbances broke out all over India. The crowds now began to attack what they believed were symbols of British rule and power—the police stations, post offices and railway stations. Telephone and Telegraph wires were cut, rails removed and bridges damaged. The railway system of Bihar and eastern U.P. was disrupted for many weeks.

"The disturbances," wrote Prime Minister Churchill, "were crushed with all the weight of the Government. . . Larger reinforcements have reached India and the number of white troops in the country is larger than at any time in the British connection." Indians listened to Churchill's pronouncements with bitterness. It seemed ironic that Britain, fighting gallantly for her own survival, should so brutally suppress Indians struggling to be free. In protest against Churchill's statement, Premier Allah Baksh of Sind (whose non-Congress ministry had continued in office) gave up his titles and decorations and was dismissed by the British Governor of the province. The fever against British Government rule mounted as Churchill made it plain. "I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside the liquidation of the British Empire."

In his jail in Poona, Gandhi decided to go on a twenty one day fast beginning on February 9, 1943.

There was deep anxiety in the country at his decision and Sir Homi Modi, Mr. N.R. Sarkar and Mr. M.S. Aney resigned from the Viceroy's Executive Council as a protest against his imprisonment. There began a countrywide agitation for his immediate release. The Viceroy would not agree to release him, nor allow President Roosevelt's special envoy, William Phillips, to see him in jail. In order to justify its stand in the event of Gandhi's death the Government published a pamphlet called "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances" which Gandhi repudiated as false because it was felt by him that the British rulers were betraying India in a false manner. The tactics were those of Miss Mayo. Gandhi's fast ended on March 3rd, and to country's great relief he survived his ordeal. The agitation for his release continued in India and abroad. In England, Bernard Shaw said: "The imprisonment of Gandhi is the stupidest blunder the Government has let itself be landed in by its right wing of incurable diehards. The King should release him unconditionally in an act of grace unconcerned with policy, and apologize to him for the mental defectiveness of his Cabinet." Non-Congress leaders met in Bombay in March to urge the Government to set him free and to hold discussions with the Congress. The Viceroy turned down this request.

The situation in the country grew from bad to worse. In 1943 a "Government of Free India" was etablished in Singapore under Japanese occupation.

Gandhi was released on May 5, 1944 on grounds of ill health. One of his first acts was to meet Jinnah and try to come to an understanding with him so that the Muslim League and the Congress could present a united front to the British. They met during September at Jinnah's house in Bombay, while the public waited anxiously for the outcome of their seventeen-day talks. No agreement could be reached, Jinnah insisted on India's partition, Gandhi accepted the idea that in the areas where Muslims were in a majority they should be allowed to form their own state within India but he could not agree to a separate nation being formed. What a mockery of politics! On one side Mahatma Gandhi side "Pakistan will be made on my dead body." On the other said he was prepared to allow the Muslims to form their own state within India. What name should I give to such a policy? "Betrayal" is the only word that I can think of. Gandhi was surely betraying the Indians.

In June 1945, elections in Britain brought a Labour Government into office under Prime Minister Attlee. With the exit of Churchill, Indians looked forward to a real change in British policy. Maulana Azad sent a message of congratulation to Attlee.

The end of the war had led to the release of the Congress leaders from their long imprisonment. The AICC met in Bombay on September 21st and 22nd with Azad presiding over 283 delegates and about 25,000 spectators three years after the passage of the 'Quit India' resolution. The AICC congratulated the nation on its courage and endurance.

Nehru moved a resolution on the Indian National Army formed in Malaya and Burma in 1942. Three officers of the INA were to face trial by the British Government in the Red Ford in Delhi. India was betrayed through this trial also.

Subhash Bose was, according to Gandhi, a great but misguided patriot, whose devotion to the cause of India's freedom had led him to seek Japan's help. His army consisted of some 20,000 Indians taken prisoners of war by the Japanese. He inspired them to fight under the flag of a free Indian government with its base in Japanese-occupied territory. These men and women were by British standards traitors and deserters but Indian public opinion was not in a mood to condemn them.

The INA trial aroused great interest in the country. Nehru was among those who put on the barrister's robes he had discarded thirty years earlier, to defend the INA officers, and Bhulabhai Desai, the leading defence counsel, drew the nation's attention to the stirling role the INA had played under Bose. Public opinion was in sympathy with the INA. The British Government had to take the country's mood into account and release the three officers though they had been convicted.

Nayantara Sehgal narrates the story of the navel mutiny in Bombay thus: "On Febuary 19, 1946, about 3,000 naval ratings of the Royal Indian Navy rebelled against discrimination in their food and living conditions and attacked a number of British officers and servicemen. They hoisted the Congress flag on some naval sloops in the harbour and forced British personal off them. Naval establishment in Karachi, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras were affected, and ratings flew congress, Muslism League and Communist flags from their lorries as they drove through these towns. When the police and military opened fire on the mutineers at Bombay and Karachi, they returned the fire. A thousand men of the Royal Indian Air Force, camped in Bombay, demonstrated in sympathy with the navy. By February 22nd the mutineers were in control of nearly twenty vessels in

Bombay harbour, including the flagship of the British Vice-Admiral, and had trained the ship's guns on the city. Sardar Patel and Jinnah had to appeal to the mutineers to surrender, promising they would not be punished. The mutiny ended on the 23rd. Its flare-up made the British Government realize that independence could not long be delayed and that every political party and group in the country was restless for it. A British Parliamentary delegation touring India earlier had also cautioned the Government not to postpone independence, and in March Britain sent a Cabinet Mission led by the Secretary of State, Lord Pethick Lawrence, to work out a plan for the transfer of power to Indian leaders.

The elections promised by Attlee had taken place in January, with an overwhelming victory for the Congress in the general seats and for the Muslim League in the Muslim seats, and in May a second Conferance met at Simla to try and bring about agreement between the League and the Congress and to persuade the Leage members to enter the Viceroy's new Executive Council. When this too failed, the Cabinet Mission suggested its own plan for an Indian Government, to be known as the Interim Government, and all through the summer of 1946 efforts were made to persuade the League to join it. India now stood on the threshold of independence. Only the Muslim League would not allow Britain to transfer power unless it created Pakistan first. The distrust between the Congress, the League and the Viceroy already stood in the way of a settlement, while the League now declared it would use violence to gain Pakistan. On July 29th Jinnah called for Direct Action, that is, violent action to win Pakistan. On August 16th Jinnah's statement, "This day we bid good bye to constitutional methods" was the signal for a terrible orgy of bloodshed in Calcutta, when gangs of Muslims armed with knives, pitchforks, axes and any weapon they could find roamed the city, killing, looting and burning. The riot lasted four days and was the worst ever remembered in India. Thousands of Hindus fled in terror from Calcutta.

The negotiations for the transfer of power went on, and the Viceroy announced he would go ahead and form a 14-member Interim Government at the Centre. He invited Nehru and Jinnah to join it with their lists of nominees to be included in it. Nehru accepted the invitation and gave his list of six nominees. Jinnah refused. He also refused Nehru's offer to form a coalition government. The Interim Government took office on September 2nd with Nehru as its Vice-President. Its other members were Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajagopalchari, Asaf Ali, R. John Matthai (representing the Christian community) and Jagjivan Ram (Representing the Scheduled Caste). Two non-League Muslims were included, Ali Zaheer and Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, and one representative each, Baldev Singh and C.J. Bhabha, of the Sikhs and Parsis. Later Sarat Chandra Bose was also included.

The Muslim League chose to declare September 2nd as Black Day and this was the signal for another outburst of communal fury in the country.

In spite of the League's refusal to join it, the formation of the Interim Government was a milestone for India. Broadcasting to the country on September 7th, Nehru said, "Six days ago my colleagues and I sat on the chairs of high office in the Government of India. A new Government came into being in this ancient land, the Interim or Provisional Government, as we called it, the stepping stone to the full independence of India . . .And yet we asked for no celebration of this historic event and even restrained our people's enthusiasm. . .Our hearts were heavy. . .With the terrible tragedy of Calcutta and because of the insensate strife of brother against brother. The freedom we had envisaged and for which we had laboured, through generations of trial and suffering, was for all the people of India, and not for one group or class or the followers of one religion. .."

The Muslim League continued its agitation for Pakistan. The talk of a partition aroused fear in large sections of the population, both Muslim and Hindu. No one knew exactly what the boundaries of India would be like, and what would be the condition of the people uprooted by the division. Indian citizens who had lived side by side in peace for hundreds of years became suspicious of each other and lived in terror of attack. A chain of riots broke out in Bengal and Bihar, and later in the Punjab. Now, India was betrayed by its own citizens.

In Bihar there had been a slaughter of the Muslims by the Hindu majority. In the villages of Bengal the Hindu minority had been butchered by the Muslims.

In October 1946, the Muslim league decided to join the Interim Government, and joined only to fight for Pakistan. It shows in every possible way that the Hindus and Muslims could not live in harmony together. On November 21st Jinnah instructed the League Ministers in the Government not to take part in the Constituent Assembly. When the Assembly met on December 9th with Rajendra Prasad as its president, for the historic task of shaping a new consitution for India, no League member was present.

The tension between the Congress and the League grew worse. Prime Minister Attlee decided to appoint Lord Mountbatten in place of Lord Wavell. In March 1947, Lord Mountbatten arrived in Delhi to become the last Viceroy of India.

Jinnah wanted Pakistan to consist of six provinces; Punjab, Bengal, North West Frontier Province; Sind and Baluchistan. Congress was equally certain that he must not be allowed to get away with unwilling sections of India. In particular, Punjab and Bengal, which had Muslim majorities but also large non-Muslim populations, could not be given away to pakistan. If necessary they might have to be partitioned, one part going to Pakistan, one remaining with India.

Faced with this crisis, Mountbatten drew up a plan of his own, according to which Bengal and Punjab were to decide their future by vote.

Mountbatten's plan was accepted by Nehru because it recognized the existing Union of India and the Constituent Assembly as the sucessor to the British Government and to when the British would hand over power.

In June 1947 Mountabatten suggested that Britain should transfer power to India and Pakistan. This formula would keep the existing Indian Union and the Constituent Assembly intact while allowing those areas which did not want to remain part of it, to leave it. The Congress agreed to it, The words "King Emperor," "Empire" and any allegiance to the Crown had been eliminated from it.

To those who had laboured nearly thirty years for freedom, the partition formula was a betrayal of our nation. The message that Nehru broadcast to our nation on June 3rd, 1947 ran thus: "Today I am speaking to you on another historic occasion when a vital change affecting the future of India is proposed. You have just heard an announcement on behalf of the British Government. This announcement lays down a procedure for self-determination in certain areas of India. It envisages on the one hand the possibility of these areas seceding from India; on the other, it promises a big advance to complete independence. . .It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals to you. For generations we have dreamt and struggled for a free, independent and united India. The proposal to allow certain parts to secede if they so will is painful for any of us to contemplate. Nevertheless, I am convinced that our present decision is the right one even from the larger viewpoint. The United India that we have laboured for was not one of compulsion and coercion but a free and willing association of a free people. It may be that in this way we shall reach that united India sooner than otherwise and then she will have a stronger and more secure foundation. . ." This jugglery of political words amounts to a national betrayal only.

The AICC meeting in Delhi on June 14th also pressed for the unity of India and declared that "no human agency can change that shape or come in the way of her final destiny. . . The AICC earnestly trusts that when the present passions have subsided, India's problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all." In spite of this fact the two nation theory was accepted by the Congress.

The Indian Independence Act was passed in the British Parliament on July 19th. On July 26th, Mountbatten addressed the Princes, asking them to join either India or Pakistan. By the time power was formally transferred, all but three Princely States had made their decision. Only Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh had not. Hyderabad and Junagadh lay geographically within the Indian Union, not adjoining Pakistan, and both had Hindu majorities and Muslim rulers. The ruler of Junagadh chose to accede to Pakistan. India opposed this accession because of the State's geographical position and because the wishes of the people had not been obtained. A plebiscite was held. Ninety per cent of the people voted for India. Hyderabad began to think in terms of independence. The *Razakars* began to terrorize the people. The Government of India tried to negotiate for the peaceful accession of Hyderbad for over a year and when this failed, it took control of the State in September 1948. Kashmir was the only one of these three which could have joined either India or Pakistan but the Maharaja postponed decision till he was forced to it by the arrival of raiders backed by Pakistan in October 1947. He than decided to accede to India. The Indian Government accepted his accession after the popular political party of Kashmir led by Sheikh Abdullah had given its consent to it.

The year before and many months after the partition were a time of heartbreak and suffering for millions of people. At midnight 14th August, 1947, Nehru addressed the Constituent Assembly, calling upon its members to pledge themselves to the service of India: "Long years ago we made tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hours when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity."

It was a mid-night freedom. The new light of liberty which our people received was enveloped with the darkness of betrayal, which was caused not only by foreigners but by our own people as well. It was freedom with fetters of pangs. The Eagle of India was made free. But its right and left wings were cut off.

No doubt India is free. We know that we received freedom in a unique way. Other countries began to follow us. In the words of Nayantara Sehgal:

"Freedom is not a gift. It is an achievement. Like anything of value it has to be safeguarded. There is no guarantee that a people will always remain free. And the threat to freedom does not always come from outside more often it comes from within. History shows us that lack of unity is a bigger danger to freedom than any outside threat. Its greatest safeguard is a united country. In a democary the citizens have the added responsibility of choosing worthwhile leaders and being alert in the performance of their own duties. The fight for freedom is, in this sense, never over. It goes on from generation to generation and every generation must do its job well so that it can pass the torch of freedom to those who come after it."

17 *Muddle Of The Middle East*

Until 1942, U-boats played havoc with the British merchant fleet. Not only did they sink British merchantmen, but their constant presence in the Atlantic succeeded in immobilizing some amount of shipping. The strain on the Navy was great, and a large part of it that could have been used for fighting purposes had to do convoy work.

Hitler's U-boat strategy was an infinite improvement upon German tactics in the last war. No longer were British merchantmen attacked singly. The U-boats worked in packs, attacking like wolves. Not the individual exploit but the balance-sheet, was taken into consideration by the Germans. That is, let us say, two U-boats lost in sinking fifteen merchant ships was regarded as a good balance-sheet. U-boats were mass-produced. Furthermore, U-boats were used as decoys and message transmitters. From 1940 until the Allied invasion of France, Germany controlled the entire seaboard of the European Continent. The job of the U-boats; with their main bases at Cherbourg, Wilhelmshaven and Heligoland, was to spy out convoys and single merchantmen and transmit the information by radio to the Continental coastline. Thence would come long-range German bombers to attack them. Here again everything was judged by the balance-sheet.

U-boats were not the only menace of the sea. Surface vessels of the German navy worked as raiders. The German navy could not hope to equal the British navy in size. Furthermore, the Germans were soldiers not seafarers. A bigger German navy would have entailed the creation of a large naval personnel, which required at least two years' training. Germany had no time to change her strategy which was based principally on land fighting. So the German navy sent its ships to various parts of the Atlantic as raiders. In the beginning the pocket battleships served as Germany's ideal raiding vessel. It was swift, less cumbersome than a battleship, and as powerful. But Germany had only a few pocket battleships and most of these were lost early in the war. The German navy therefore used the destroyers and cruisers as raiders to supplement the work originally designed for the U-boat. Until 1943 German naval warfare was a great source of danger to Britain. Britain's shipping position used to figure as an important item in Mr Churchill's review of the war to Partiament at the beginning of every session.

Mr. Chamberlain decided to employ the weapon of blockade again. Mr. Churchill had to reverse his strategy in 1940, in view of the changed circumstances. Germany, and not Britain, was mistress of the European coastline. Germany now planned to starve British industries by cutting off her supplies. Britain felt the rigours of it until the entry of the United States into the war, which added another powerful navy to her side.

The most common aspect of civilian life in wartime Britain known abroad was the black-out. Intended as a protection against night raiders, it proved to be of only partial value. During the blitz of 1940, German raiders came regularly over England and nonchalantly dropped their loads. London was blitzed not withstanding the blackout; so were Coventry, Manchester, Birmingham and many other cities. Instruments, and not visibility, guided them to their targets. The night raiders came confidently, and at the appointed time.

But the Londoner, though cruelly harassed, bore it with great fortitude—he did not squeal, neither did he clamour for peace. The blitz lasted only from September to December, and then tailed off. Had it gone on longer Londoners would have found it difficult to 'take it'. To work hard during the day and on top of it to spend sleepless night was too much for the human system. It was not only a war of curbs but a war of nerves also. The real blitz, however, was confined to London only.

The next serious menace from the air was the V series of bombs variously called rocket-bombs, pilotless planes, and noodle bugs. These started in June, 1944. Although pooh-poohed in the earlier days, the V-bomb proved to be quite a formidable missile.

John Bull was frightened by the V-I. Every fifteen minutes he had to take shelter, and his work was interrupted. It was dangerous to go shopping—who could tell where the bomb would fall? The effect of the V-1 was not any greater than that of an ordinary bomb, although the blast was worse. Houses were either destroyed or damaged and lives lost during the V-1 attack. Again, it was London that suffered most, for it was a vast target against which bombs could be aimed from a distance. Other towns were comparatively small in size, and therefore hard to hit with precision. The invasion of France, and the overrunning of the fly-bomb bases, at last put an end to this, one of the war's most trying menaces.

The V-2 which were rocket-propelled, and traveled faster than sound, followed the V-1's. They were few and irregular, and although they produced a more terrific concussion, they were not much of a menace.

In the first three years of the war the the loss of civilian life in England through air-raids amounted to over 50,000. But more than death, was the destruction of property. Large tracts of London were devastated and the housing problem became acute. While large numbers of houses were wrecked, the population of London increased through the arrival of American soldiers. Mothers and children evacuated to safe areas made it a point to return ever so often, and the local authorities were faced with the embarrassing problem of providing them with accommodation.

So grave indeed was the situation that the Government had to set up a new Ministry to tackle housing.

Mr. Churchill realized that by the conquest of France, Germany had got under her control the large productive apparatus of Europe, and that Britain could hardly compete with her. The best thing to do in the circumstances was to augment her fighting services to the maximum and depend for supplies increasingly on the United States. He said to America: 'Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.' Later on, however, although the tools became available, Britain was still unable to finish the job. It was beyond her physical powers. Germany had become a veritable military colossus. Not until the United States came into the conflict was the balance tipped in favour of the Allies.

American supplies first became available to Britain on a 'cash and carry' basis. America took all the gold from Britain until at one stage she had to borrow gold from little Belgium to get out of an awkward situation. After her gold had been exhausted, Britain had to surrender her foreign securities, then her foreign investments.

There was a time when the Englishmen had only a hazy notion about the war and its significance. To him Hitler was a maniac, a demon, and Germany the home of concentration camps, of informers and spies, of a people who wanted to subjugate others. The Government had told him through posters that he was fighting to save democracy and freedom. When it was pointed out to him that Britain too was holding down India by force, and denying her freedom, he was perplexed—he could not believe the charge. At heart he was good-intentioned, but how could he answer for something his Government had done in his name? No one had told him much about India, neither the press nor the officials, and so he had given little thought to it. He began to feel self-conscious about India and the colonies.

At the outbreak of war, Britain's policy was to depend upon France to provide the major portion of the land forces, while she herself would send over a small Expeditionery Force. Her main contribution was to be naval, to be used chiefly for blockading Germany. As regards the air arm, there was no policy at all, save that of night bombing. Luckily for her, Britain had some good fighter planes, like the Spitfire and the Hurricane. Although the British Air Ministry had no clear idea as to their use, the Spitfire and the Hurricane saved the country in the then famous Battle of Britain. In the summer of 1940, after the fall of France, the Luftwaffe started invading Britain in large numbers. Dive-bombers, called Stukas, formed the bulk of the attacking force. The wings of these dive-bombers bent downwards, to enable them to dive and rise automatically. A straight-winged plane attempting to dive either crashes or smashes its wings.

The Stukas could attack only in daytime. British airfields were their principal target, their aim being to cripple British air power and thus to pave the way for an invasion by land forces. Britain had pitifully few fighters. Nevertheless they went up to meet the Stukas. Though the Stukas were deadly in the precision of their aim, they were, at the same time, slow and cumbersome, and fell a ready prey to the speedy and manoeuvrable Spitfires and Hurricanes. The Stuka losess were so enormous that within three weaks the Germans were compelled to revise their air tactics.

German U-boats, sea-bombers and raiding ships took a huge toll of British merchantmen. Britain's shipping situation was indeed precarious upto 1943. It was saved by American Liberty ships which were being produced on a mass scale.

Britain always considered herself first a naval, and only secondly a land power, although her Empire had large land frontiers. That was the reason why her army in peacetime numbered only 600,000. British propagandists argued that that was an earnest proof of Britain's peaceful intentions. Nothing of the sort. Compared with the wartime strength of armies Britain's pre-war land forces were small, though in comparison with the size of the peacetime armies of other nations, hers was a fair-sized one. Furthermore, British policy was never to war alone but always with a strong land Power as an ally. For this purpose she always pursued an active diplomatic policy. At the beginning of the present war she had secured an alliance with France. When France fell, her diplomacy swung precipitately towards America. All American protestations of neutrality notwithstanding, she never gave up the hope that one day the United States would become her ally, and worked earnestly towards that end.

In 1940, when France collapsed, Britain found herself facing the task of raising a huge modern army out of nothing, with not a moment to spare. She had hardly anything in those calamitous days to defend herself with. Up to the fall of France only two classes of men had been called up for military service, bringing her fighting strength to only about a million and a half. Her equipment, meagre and outdated as it was, was lost in the retreat from Dunkirk. According to Mr. Churchill's subsequent admission in America, practically the whole of the tank corps was lost in France (and the number of tanks with which Britain entered the war was only a few hundred). The only battalion of the Royal Tank Corps which escaped capture—because it remained in England—was later sent to the Middle East, and under General (now Lord) Wavell played havoc with the Italian forces under Graziani.

How then did Britain survive against the German might in 1940? Purely by bluff. There were hardly enough arms to go round. Britain was desperately buying up arms in every corner of the world—even taking back from Maxico the outdated weapons she had sold to that country after the last war.

Mr. Churchill himself in 1943 told the story how Britain had bluffed her way through. They set up tarred tree-trunks along Britain's beaches that the enemy might mistake for artillery. They erected camouflage fortifications which a single salvo from German guns might have levelled to the ground. What small army they had they kept constantly on the move, inspiring German spies to report back to Berlin of tremendous military movements in the country. They set up road blocks, and let the rumour spread that they were mines. They called upon civilians to join the Home Guard, who, for lack of arms went about their duties with sticks. There was a desperate appeal to the people to surrender any firearms they might possess, even shot-guns, mostly used for shooting rabbits. Those in illegal possession of arms were officially assured that no penalties would be inflicted so long as such weapons were promptly surrendered. Over and above this Mr. Churchill and his trusted lieutenant, the Hon. Mr. Duff-Cooper, had the audacity to go on the air ever so often and challenge the Germans to invade.

Germany was impressed by the bluff. She believed that the insignificance of the purely British booty captured in France was a conclusive proof that Britain had conserved most of her material on her own soil.

About the time Germany brought Britain to bay in Western Europe, Mussolini was showing signs of activity in North Africa. Italy under II Duce pursued a sea policy, based on that strutting Dictator's constant aspiration to turn the Mediterranean into—*Mare Nostrum*, and to bring the territories bordering its shores under Italian control. As the Mediterranean happens to be Britain's lifeline to the East, a clash was inevitable. That is why, even at the risk of weakening the home defences, Mr. Churchill sent a large part of the British army to the Middle East.

Realizing how deficient they were in numbers, equipment and preparedness, the British forces in the Middle East under General Wavell remained for a very long time on the defensive. They tried bluff too, as in England, planting tarred wooden poles as mock artillery on the outskirts of Sidi Barrani. The Italian Commander, Graziani, was planning a grand assault on Egypt in the Moghul style, and was leisurely massing men and material for the drive. His idea was to overrun Egypt and link up with the Italian forces in Eritrea and Abyssinia. General Wavell realized the danger, and in spite of his weakness decided to attack first. This was another audacious undertaking, forced no doubt by a desperate possition. Either this or complete disaster, such was the choice before him. The Italians had never dreamed General Wavell would strike first. Although superior in numbers and equipment, they just scattered like chaff before a gust of wind. The first North African compaign was a brilliant feat, and it gave the British public a new spirit. General Wavell became a popular hero, more popular even than Mr. Churchill himself. It was whispered that also was the cause of his downfall. Mr. Churchill brooked no rivals.

In 1940 (and projecting well into 1942), British strategy was to avoid battle—while she was busy building up her larger new conscript army. Last of all did she want a clash in England or anywhere nearby. Clashes in the Middle East or in South Eastern Europe were a different matter. The British Expeditionery Force sent out to the rescue of the Greeks early in 1941 was intended not as a serious threat to the German rear, but as a delaying force. When Crete was successfully invaded by German paratroops, the average Briton lost his nerve. This, he thought, was Hitler's dress rehearsal for the invasion of Britain. That was the view of many military experts too.

By his conquest of all Europe, Hitler had made Germany almost invincible. Not even Napoleon had achieved this degree of success. Hitler's reasoning, dictated by his geopolitical theories, was as follows: To dominate the world he had to dominate Britain; to dominate Britain he had to dominate Europe. After the conquest of Europe only one power was left in his rear to subjugate, Soviet Russia. The invasion of Russia, however, eventually brought about his downfall.

The battle of Moscow was an eye-opener. It proved above all that however unpalatable Soviet politics might appear to be, she was a first-class fighting ally, and what was yet more amazing, Russia possessed no quisling. The Germans had to fight both at the front and in the rear.

The entry of America on the Allied side sent Hitler into a flurry. He did not wish to be outmatched by American material. In 1942 he showed a desperate hurry to finish off the Russian campaign. He abandoned Moscow as the immediate objective and massed a mighty army in Southern Russia, resolved upon reaching Persia at any cost. By this mesaure he hoped to cut off the supplies Russia was receiving from abroad, principally from the United States, through Persia, which the Russians and the British had occupied in the meanwhile.

His plan was foiled by the desperate and unexpected resistance put up by the Red Army at Stalingrad. The days of summer wore out, autumn followed, then came winter. In January 1943, disaster overtook the German forces at Stalingrad. The conquests of the summer melted away, and the Wehrmacht fell back precipitately on the Don, while the entire German Army under Field Marshal Paulus was trapped and made captive.

Stalingrad was the turning point of the war in the East. The catastrophe made Hitler realize his folly.

Japan had caught the British Empire napping, and had complicated her problems of defence a great deal. All British preparations had been for a war in Europe. The Far East had been regarded as only a diplomatic worry, which any astute ambassador could smooth over with patience and tact. But the collapse of Malaya, Burma and the East Indies upset all British calculations and created a very serious military threat to Australia and India, particularly the latter, which was the source of Britain's wealth and the pivot of her defence in the East. Australia, on the other hand, was of vital importance to the United States. Australian soldiers had gone to the Middle East to help British forces there. But now that their own country was in peril, the Australians were promptly recalled from the Middle East.

British forces had to retreat from Burma and Malaya because no preparations had been made for the defence of these territories. Meanwhile, Indian anger was rising and culminated in the disorders of August

1942, engineered, so the Government alleged, by the Congress. Britain was afraid of a pro-Japanese movement in India. The tremendous upsurge of August 1942, instead of spurring them on, frightened the Japanese and they refused to invade the politically dangerous Indian soil. They knew they would be setting foot in a country which, though perhaps anti-British, was certainly not pro-Japanese. Without the support of the local population the Japanese had no chance of success. On the borders of India, therefore, the Far Eastern war settled into a deadlock.

While Hitler was trying to wheel into Persia, General Rommel was driving forward in Egypt, heading for the Suez Canal. He came within an inch of success, but luck was against him, and the crucial battle of El Alamein once and for all shattered all his ambitions.

Meanwhile, the demand for a second front in Europe was gathering strength. Moscow's was loudest, for with the entire Wehrmacht and the armies of satellite countries pitted against her, Russia was finding the burden back-breaking. The British people were equally vociferous—they were war-weary, and believed a second front would hasten the war's end.

General Montgomery, who had by then distinguished himself as a brilliant field commander, started his offensive in North Africa. Not until U.S. troops had made landings in French North-West Africa, however, did success begin to crown Anglo-American efforts. The German army was caught between two attacking armies. The Battle of the Mareth Line and the capture of Tunis and Bizerta brought the North African campaign to a conclusion, and the Germans lost their foothold in Africa for good.

The central guiding principle of British policy has always been to safe-guard the Empire first. This drove Mr. Churchill further to postpone the invasion of France. Instead, from North Africa the Anglo-American forces turned northwards to invade Italy, which had always been a threat to Britain's lines of communication with the Empire. The undertaking was facilitated by political developments within Italy. King Victor Emmanuel of Italy and Marshal Badoglio had always been pro-British. Now with all his Empire lost, the King of Italy thought the better of things and decided it was more prudent to sue for peace than to gamble away his throne on the side of Germany. Italy would have fallen like a ripe fruit, but for Anglo-American political strategy which backed the reactionary Badoglio and the King, and stumbled hopelessly against the Republican Socialist will of the Italian people.

To the average American, the war in Europe seemed a distant affair, but the one in the Pacific was just across his own shores. Had Japan, for instance, succeeded in taking all the Pacific islands, her navy would have had a straight run to America's Pacific coast. At heart every American wanted to fight the Pacific war first.

But luckily for Britain and Russia President Roosevelt was on their side. He had long urged that General ambitions ultimately formed the most formidable threat to America. Under his guidance America's foreign policy was based on the assumption that Britain was America's first line of defence. Thus, despite the general American inclination to concentrate on the Pacific, the war in Europe was eventually given precedence.

The fall of France created a critical diplomatic situation for Britain. Just as diplomacy reacts on war, so does war react on diplomacy. Not only did France before 1939 constitute the land frontier of Britain, but Britain also benefited through the pacts France had entered into with various European States. France was also a powerful barrier between Germany and Italy. Britain wanted, by hook or by crook, to keep Italy, a power with Mediterranean ambitions, out of the war. By refusing to take a strong line against Italy during the Abyssinian war, Mr. Stanley Baldwin had laid down that policy, and Mr. Chamberlain who succeeded him tried to heal what little injury the League of Nations might have done by recognizing Italy's Abyssinian Empire. Even Mr. Churchill, whose hostility towards Germany brooked no halfway house, made a personal appeal to Mussolini just before the fall of France, imploring him to maintain Italian neutrality. II Duce, opportunist that he was would have liked to sit on the fence indefinitely. But the fall of France forced his hand, and he threw in his lot with Germany. Italy had nothing to gain from friendship with Britain. By retaining British goodwill she could, at best, only save herself from being hurt. To throw in his lot with Hitler was to gamble, but the risk was worth-while. And Mussolini was every inch a gambler.

By defeating France, Germany completely upset the balance of power on the Continent. European States could ignore her only at their own peril. They were forced to make their choice. As a military power Germany stood doubtless supreme ; A division of opinion arose among the ruling classes of the smaller European States.

This division of opinion was fundamental. The result was that a section of them stayed on in the countries occupied by Germany and toed the line of collaboration. The rest escaped to france and then to Britain. Britain set them up as exiled Governments. It started with the Poles. The Czecho-slovaks under Dr Benes turned up next, but they had to struggle on as a National Committee for some months before they acquired the status of a Government. Then came the Belgians, the Dutch, the Norwegians and a horde of others. Except for Denmark, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland, the other European States set up rival Governments in the opposite camps.

On the outbreak of war British diplomacy had chosen to use its traditional weapons—money and most-favored-nation trade pacts. As we have pointed out earlier, Britain was interested only in South-Mediterranean. Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey and Yugoslavia were countries that Britain wanted on her side.

Stanley Baldwin as Premier had declared that the Rhine was the boundary of Britain. The Wehrmacht had just wiped off that boundary, in fact rubbed all froniters off the map of Europe. Earlier, the British had believed the war to be a purely European affair, as in the last war, with the cockpit somewhere in Western Europe. But Hitler had made the entire continent his battleground, and soon was reaching out beyond the confines of Europe. In 1941 his armies went to North Africa; they were there not merely to aid the Italians who had proved their military worthlessness. General Rommel's Afrika Korps meant to go forward, right to the Red Sea and beyond. With the connivance of Vichy France, Germany had acquired a hold on Syria, the first mile-stone on the road to the Middle East. Nazi diplomacy was active in all the countries of the Middle East, including Iran and Afghanistan. This was no European war at all. It threatened to become a global conflagration, with Europe as its base. It was in preparation for this grandiose plan that Hitler had put all Europe on a war footing, mobilizing its industry, agriculture and manpower.

Britain began to take extra interest in Middle Eastern affairs. She had created the new Palestine to please world Jewry. But the majority of the people living in the Middle East are Muslims. Just as she had favoured the Muslims as minority in India, she had favoured the Jews in Palestine. Now she was constrained to change her line. She became cold towards Zionism, and started placating the Arabs by encouraging the popular idea of an Arab federation towards which formerly she had shown studied indifference, if not open hostility—a united Arab nation would spell the death of British power in the Middle East. Although the Shah of Iran was showing particular favour to the Germans so far as trade was concerned, Britain in her desire not to annoy any one in the Middle East, only winked at this backsliding and celebrated the anniversary of his accession with more pomp then she would bestow upon him in peacetime. King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, who too was walking the tight rope received gold and food-stuff from Britain as a token of her friendship.

The Iraqi Prime Minister, Rashid Ali, believing that in this war the Arab people had a right to choose their side, however, trod on Britain's toes. Iraqi oil was too precious—the Allies could no longer take chances. The British, or, to be precise, the British-controlled Indian army, was despatched to put him down. The Allies had enough on their hands in North Africa, faced as they were by the forces of General Rommel. Yet they spared enough men to march on Syria in the lean days of 1941. The race for the Middle East was on, and Britain used sweet language, bribe and armed force, as occasion demanded, to strengthen her foothold there.

India, too, figured among the countries to be appeased. She was given an 'Indianized' Viceroy's Council, the object being to placate the National Congress, which had now become a big force in India. The Germans, however, were still far away from her borders. So the concessions did not go far enough. In order to strengthen and fortify her gains in the Middle East, Britain even began to patonize the Muslim religion, and made a gift of one hundred thousand pounds for the establishment of a mosque in London. Why? Because at that time the idea of Pakistan was not in the mind of Indian Muslims who followed M.A Jinnah.

Meanwhile Turkey was playing a shrewd, self-seeking game. Turkey's foreign policy was guided by three main considerations: (i) to be friendly with all States in her rear; (ii) to have a friendly and sufficiently independent South-Eastern Europe; (iii) to retain control of the Dardanelles. Like Russia of pre-1939 days, she looked inward for development. She has a territory much too vast for a population of barely 16 millions.

Turkey had suffered at the hands of European imperialism. She was therefore, always suspicious of them. The Saadabad Pact which Mustafa Kemal Pasha promoted in 1934 was an attempt to unite the kingdoms of the Middle East as a safe-guard against any threat from Europe. But this pact failed to achieve its purpose. Its death-knell was sounded when Rashid Ali's call for help against the British force in 1941 went unheeded. The dethronement of Reza Shah of Persia was the last nail in its coffin.

In 1939 when German strength was still a matter of conjecture. Turkey had played safe by signing an alliance with British at a price of seven million pounds. She had even shown willingness to co-operate with the Anglo-French forces which General Weygand was then training in Syria for an eventual march on South-Eastern Europe. This was not only Turkey's safe-guard against Germany, but also against Russia, whom she suspected of having designs on the Dardnelles. The fall of France upset her calculations and she baked out her obligations to Britain without as much as an apology. She even went to the length of blaming Britain for bringing misfortunes on her. Only now, when Germany had been contained within her frontiers, had she openly come into the war.

On Russia's entry into the war, Turkish displomacy became a puzzle of the first magnitude. Occasionally her suspicion of Russia flared up to unusal proportions. On their part, the Russians thoroughly disliked the Turks, and their behaviour towards them was full of hauteur and contempt. There was some basis for Russia's contempt. At a time when Turkey had no friend in this wide world only the Soviet had gone to her aid and helped her consolidate her national revolution. For Turkey to remain neutral when Russia's fate hung in the balance was, in their view, the height of ingratitude.

Only on one occassion was there plain speaking between the leaders of the two nations. President Inonu is said to have asked Mr. Churchill during the latter's visit to Adana in 1943 whether there would be a seat for Turkey at the peace table. Mr. Churchill assured M. Inonu that those fighting could be sure of their seats, but those still sitting on the fence might secure only standing room.

Britain's toughest diplomatic battles, however, were neither with Germany nor Japan. They were with her allies, Russia and America. Only the ultimate aims of Germany, which left no room for accommodation with any of the three Powers, made the strange bed-fellows in World War II. All the conferences that took place between President

Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin produced only one result: unity in time of war.

Japan caught America napping in 1941. Her attack on Pearl Harbour destroyed or mutilated a good part of the U.S. Pacific fleet. The nation suddenly awoke to the fact that even the Panama Canal zone lacked anti-aircraft defences. A-A guns had to be rushed from Britain. The only thing that saved the American mainland from a direct invasion was the strategic necessity for Japan to take Malaya and the East Indies before she could launch on this gamble. America thus gained valuable time.

To America the war in the Pacific was nearer and more vital than the war in Europe. There was an outcry in the United States in the early days against war in Europe, and there was an ugly show of temper when it was revealed that General MacArthur, the national hero, had been starved of supplies in the task of defending the Philippines. The battle on the Bataan Peninsula caught the imagination of the average American far more than did the subsequent conquest of North Africa, or even the invasion of France. Mr Churchill had no easy time persuading the Americans that the defeat of Germany would clear the way for victory in the East. Only the promise of full-scale British help in fighting the Pacific war could make America agree to whole-hearted participation in the European war.

An angry quarrel arose over the question of Greece. Americans looked askance at the doings of the British forces in Greece last December. Russia's entry into Yugoslavia had forced the Germans to evacuate Greece—the liberation of that country had been achieved without Allied intervention. The British General Scobie went to Greece with his mixed bag of British and Indian troops and helped the Greek Royalists into power. The popular ELAS which had fought the Germans for three long years and guerillas could not tolerate the Royalists being thus forced upon them. The Greek Royalists had had an easy time in Britain while the ELAS had borne the brunt of the fighting during the German occupation. A skirmish ensued and General Scobie's troops fought the Greek guerillas. American sympathies were wholly with the ELAS. Moreover, the Americans felt slighted at not being consulted on the Greek question.

At Casablanca Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt announced the policy of 'unconditional surrender' for Germany. But Stalin, although out to crush the Hitlerite regime, was opposed to the destruction of Germany as a State. Since Casablanca the three statesmen gathered round the table on more than one occasion. But they were unable yet to evolve a blue-print for the future of the Reich. This was sign of the wide divergency of views that existed between the three nations on the most crucial question of the war.

Trouble kept on brewing over the status of the other European States. Britain had her own set of exiled Government, and Russia was backing her own men. Only Dr. Benes of Czecho-Slovakia seemed to be acceptable both to London and Moscow. In Yugoslavia matters came to a head between the pro-Russia Marshal Tito and the pro-British King

Peter. Tito, incidentally, was the only European who raised an army of liberation without the assistance of any foreign Power. Russia backed Tito to the hilt, and won a diplomatic triumph over Britain. King Peter was unable to return to his country unless a plebiscite decided that he was wanted. The Greeks expected to achieve something along the same lines, but their guerilla movement was not as strong as that of the Yugoslavs, and succumbed to the superior British force under General Scobie.

If Britain had made her main base, namely, the United Kingdom, safe from any European threat, her far-flung Empire had collapsed like a mansion built on sand.. The Englishman never took Japan seriously, until the Japs opened his eyes in 1941 by pouncing with lightning speed and seizing the entire East Indies, Malaya and Burma. When in the summer of 1942 India was threatened Britain really had an attack of fever, and hurriedly despatched Sir Stafford Cripps to negotiate a settlement. But the Japanese had run out of breath, and the threat to India receeded —and so declined the urgency for securing Indian co-operation.

Had Japan stayed out of the war, China would never have become Britain's ally. Britain's acceptance of China as one of the United Nations was reluctant—it was done mainly on American insistence. Russia, of course, just did not accept China as an ally. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt had to meet Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek separately in Cairo, before they proceeded to Teheren to keep their rendezvous with M. Stalin.

In 1939 India was regarded as a part of the British Empire and mainly a domestic problem of Britain. The world took only a casual interest in Indian affairs. The general impression was that the Indian people were self-governing, now that they had received the new Constitution. British propaganda helped to create and spread this illusion by shrewd publicity for the 'co-operation' the National Congress had offered through its Provincial Ministers. The names of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Kher, Shri Krisna Sinha and Mr. Rajagopalachari appeared frequently in the world Press. Even the Americans could repeat the jaw-breaker 'Mr. Rajagopalachari'. Of the Congress Prime Ministers, Mr. B. G. Kher was perhaps the best known, thanks no doubt to the various schemes of reform that his Ministry had introduced in the Province of Bombay. The campaign for the liquidation of adult illiteracy that he undertook in the city of Bombay is still remembered. Mr. Rajagopalachari received great publicity after his break from the Congress in 1942. Critics often referred his stand while condemning Mahatma Gandhi and the 1942 August resolution.

In the beginning Britain regarded the war as purely a European affair, hardly constituting any threat to the Empire. I remember attending a Press conference for American correspondents given by the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Zetland. His ignorance and complacency about Indian affairs irritated many statesmen. India was rolling on, like the Mississipi, and would do no one any harm, least of all to the British Empirer—that was in effect what he said.

The British army was preparing for the war—on the 1914 pattern. The french warfare of 1914-16 had made the sandbag famous. So they placed huge orders for sandbag with the jute mills of Calcutta. British publicists wrote lyrically on the theme of the sandbag, and said how all the sandbags ordered if placed in a row, would reach the moon. The mad rush for sandbags (which were required for air-raid precautions also) caused the Bengal Government to conduct an enthusiastic campaign for encouraging the cultivation of jute in place of the regular crops. When France fell the day of the sandbag was finally done. The Bengali farmer was left with all his jute hanging on his hands.

Such was the British attitude towards India. If India helped Britain's war effort so much the better. If not, what did it matter? The fall of France caused this attitude to be revised. The significance of the fall of France was that not only was Britain left alone to fight out the war, but her enemies multiplied. Italy's entry on Germany's side jeopardized the Mediterranean lifeline of the Empire. From Gibralter to Aden, with the solitary exception of Egypt, Britain was faced on the southern side by an enemy coastline. America was still neutral and was frankly sceptical of Britain's ability to resist the Nazi-Fascist combination. Russia in her scrupulous anxiety not to annoy the Nazis, with whom she had signed a pact of non-aggression under whose shelter she would have been content to live through the entire war, just would not countenance British overtures of any description. The Dominions were on the side of the Mother Country. But, sparsely populated and not richly endowed by nature, they could offer only a token help. Where, then, was Britain to look for aid? India was the only country of any size and riches that could be tapped with profit.

The next question was how to get Indian resources and manpower on Britain's side. Mr. Chamberlain had resigned sometime since, and Mr. Churchill had become Prime Minister. One section of his Cabinet suggested the conferment of Dominion Status upon India in order to secure her aid. But the Empire-minded Mr. Churchill, who has always looked upon Indians with contempt, would have nothing of the kind. The only compromise agreed to was the 'Indianization' of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Meanwhile, no effort was to be spared to use Indian resources, with the consent of the people if possible, without it if necessary. The idea was to dangle a carrot in one hand, and flourish the stick with the other.

If Indian industry was allowed to develop (and now India aspired to manufacture such vital things as automobilies), Britain would be seting up a formidable competitor. British textile interests had burnt their figures in the last war by letting the rival Indian industry to take root. Should the British motorcar be allowed to meet with the same fate? Britain resolved to pursue her age-old industrial policy of securing India's raw materials for manufacture by British interests. Demands for the importation of plant into India were being refused by London on the pretext of lack of shipping space, at a time when Indian raw materials, including pig-iron, were filling the hulls of homeward-bound British merchantmen.

It was a one-way traffic. Britain took things out of India, but India obtained little in return, except increasing balances in the Bank of England. There was little difference between the blocked marks of the Reichs Bank dumped on the occupied countries of Europe and the sterling balances which India has accumulated in Britain. The Indian capitalist did not like his money thus upproductively locked up in Britain. He raised a hue and cry about it. If Britain could not give him the machinery he needed, then America, he argued, should be allowed to satisfy India's needs. But how was this to be made possible? Britain had confiscated India's dollar holdings, while her own were already exhausted.

Britain then did some slick ledger-keeping in order to reduce this increasing war debt to India. First of all she wrote off certain 'debts' India was supposed to owe Britain, or to be more specific, debts that Britain had incurred in the name of India. As for the balance—and it must be remembered that by 1943 India had become Britain's second biggest creditor—she produced the equivalent of it in Indian currency notes, heedless of what the money thus put into circulation could buy. Indians could become millionaries on this insubstantiated paper currency with alarming inflationary tendencies. The famine that visited Bengal later was partly due to this infiation. Even the conservative *Economist* of London was appalled by this crude and irresponsible management of India's finances and condemned it in a stinging article. But why, indeed, should Britain worry if Indian capitalists were content with their paper wealth?

The Tata-Birla Plan, which called for a thorough-going industrilization of India, caused some interest and more controversy in Britain. Britain, however, found it useful to allow this controversy to develop—she would at the present moment encourage any controversy except the one over India's right to freedom. Furthermore, plans for the future are all the rage in Britain. They kept people's minds off the present. The Tata-Birla plan did succeed in eclipsing India's national demand for the immediate transfer of power. Lord Wavell, who succeeded Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy, maintained quite plainly that in his view India's economic (not necessarily industrial) development would engage his attention first. Political freedom, he announced, came third on his list.

Americans always took keen interest in Indian affairs; so did the Russians, but less vocally, and now their alliance with Britain sealed their lips. British propaganda against India had always been very busy in America.

A well-known American couple were once invited to spend the week-end in the country house of Britain's Propaganda Minister, Brenden

Bracken. India was going to figure prominently in the talks. The Americans, who had arrived early for breakfast, were waiting for their host. Whispered the wife to the husband; 'I bet the first thing Brendy will say is, "The Indian problem is no complex, full of minorities and conflicting interests." Entered Mr. Bracken. 'The Indian problem is so complex. . .,' he began. The wife nudged the husband, and both smiled. The statement of the Indian National Congress, drafted by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, posed for Britain the awkward question whether this war is genuinely being fought for democracy and freedom. Britain was never able to answer it squarely. She hedged and equivocated on every occasion and all this had convinced the world that Britain did not mean business.

The fall of France brought forth the Poona Resolution of the National Congress drafted by Mr. Rajagopalachari. It lacked the challenging high moral tone of the first statement. It promised India's co-operation in the war, if Britain made sufficient concessions to her. As a proposition from one business firm to another it was unimpeachable, but as an appeal to the people of the world it fell flat. The masses could understand simple human urges like freedom, but they had a revulsion for political barter.

Then came Mahatma Gandhi's annoucement that although he did not propose to give Britain moral support, he would refrain from embarrassing her war effort. British propagandists immediately seized on this to tell the world that India's quarrel with Britain was only a friendly one.

When in 1941 Russia was dragged into the European maelstrom, for the Communists it became overnight a People's war. Of course no one took the Communists seriously, and their political acrobatics were more amusing than effective. The British Government took full advantage of the Communist turn-about, and no one in England was surprised when the ban on the Indian Communist Party was lifted. Everywhere Communists came to be known as agents of the Churchill administration.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Nehru again challenged Allied sincerity by demanding the immediate freedom of India. In an article in the American magazine *Fortune* Pandit Nehru likened this war to a revolution, the outcome of which would be beneficial only if the liberation of the colonial and oppressed peoples was made a reality. Pandit Nehru's pronouncement touched the depth of popular feeling. Britain had to answer this forceful challenge. Meanwhill the Japanese had reached the borders of India and invasion seemed imminent. These factors prompted Sir Stafford Cripps's flying visit to India in the spring of 1942. But Britain had also taken the alternative precaution. It was said that one of the largest convoys of troops and war materials ever, sailed for India about the same time as Sir Stafford Cripps's plane took off. No sooner had the negotiations broken down than this convoy touched Indian shores. Circumstantial evidence for this was to be found in Mr. Churchill's speech to the House of Commons on the Cripps Mission, in which he admitted that there had been landed in India the largest number of British troops in her history. It was a British betrayal of the highest order.

Britain had realized that Congress propaganda for Indian freedom was receiving wide-spread attention. The shroud of secrecy which enveloped the Cripps negotiations sealed the lips of the Congress, and Britain gained a month's respite in which to prepare her propaganda campaign. The fact that Congress had not only been inveigled into these secret parleys, but had pursued them for such a long time, encouraged a misplaced optimism. By clear publicity Britain managed to convey the impression that the Cripps proposals were a genuine bid to confer freedom upon India, and for several valuable weeks these assertions went unanswered. Such was the price paid by India for indulging in secret diplomacy. The reluctance of the Congress to do propaganda in foreign countries prejudiced India's case. India had gagged herself to her own detriment. It is not enough to have justice on your side; the justice of your case must reach the ears of the world.

The truth about the failure of the Cripps mission came to light only gradually, but by that time it was too late to mend matters. Especially as the Indian nation was becoming restive and a mass movement, so far held in check, seemed to be in the offing. The resolution of August 8th 1942 was the logical expession of the mood of the Indian people.

Britain did expect such a development. But could she suppress a mass movement merely on the ground that it was seditious? Such a move would have immediately offended American and even British sentiment. The only method by which repression in India could be justified was by dubbing the Indian national movement as pro-Japanese. Mahatma Gandhi's draft of the resolution submitted to the Working Committee meeting at Allahabad, which recommended neutrality towards Japan, was fully exploited for this purpose, and the leaders of the Indian nation were arrested. Had Britain not accused the Congress of pro-Japanese tendencies she would have found it difficult to put these leaders behind the bars. The Gandhian draft was prominently featured in the British press. Who, in the heat of the moment, had time to see through the farfetched interpretation of a document which was only a draft resolution? How could those working for the freedom of India abroad nail the forgery to the counter when the Congress had officially severed connexion with organizations abroad and discouraged propaganda in foreign countries?

The White Paper, published under the editorship of Sir Richard Tottenham, was a desperate attempt on the part of the British Government to justify its actions since August 1942. But it failed to serve its purpose—it was more in the nature of a charge-sheet than a report of events. Even the British press characterized it as one-sided and biased.

The malicious accusation of pro-Japanism on the part of the Indian leaders was wearing thin and their continued imprisonment was a matter which British propaganda could not for very long explain away.

Who knew anything about Pakistan and who cared? But pro-Pakistan propaganda was systamatically encouraged. As a result, a vague feeling cropped up among the British public that there were some Indians who wanted their country split. The strongest illusion current abroad is that Indians cannot agree among themselves, and the Gandhi-Jinnah disagreement is cited as a manifestation of that strife.

The Bengal famine caught British propaganda by the scruff of its neck. People all the world over were shocked by the recurrence of famine, which Britain claimed to have permanently banished from India. The blame for it was put squarely at the doors of British Raj. For a time the India office disingenuously tried to shift the responsibility on to Indian shoulders. They argued that the British Government in India was actually Indian in composition, citing the presence of nine Indians on the Viceroy's Executive Council. But the argument would not hold water, in view of the existence of a powerful British Bureaucracy in India, with the Viceroy at its head. Furthermore, by what stretch of imagination could the British Government be considered 'Indian' if the nation's leaders were still in jail?

Then they tried to pin the blame on Indian leaders. Our Indian Communist friends were lending British propaganda a helping hand by cabling anti-hoarder stories to the *Daily Worker* of London, while saying little or nothing about the main cause of the famine. Luckily enough some British correspondents in India knocked the bottom out of this mischievous publicity campaign by reporting that the real cause was inefficiency, callousness and lack of foresight on the British press began to assure the world that Lord Wavell, the new Viceroy, would bring his military efficiency to bear upon the Indian administration and rescue India from the throes of famine.

So delicate was Britain's position in regard to India that she had had to use extra measures for self-protection. The Americans had been requested not to meddle in Indian affairs as it would undermine the spirit of the Anglo-American alliance.

But the walls that Britain built around India, through diplomacy and propagnda, could not stand the test of time.

Danger, however, lies in believing in unrealities, Anyone who believed that a British general election would be successfully fought on the question of India, and that Parliament would give India freedom, was asking for disappointment. Freedom has never come to a nation as a 'gift'. must be fought for. Then alone does a nation deserve it. And that way alone can it preserve that freedom when it comes. In this wide world India has millions of allies. They regard her as the leader of the colonial peoples in their struggle for liberation. India by her own effort must give them the opportunity to convert their sympathies into active support.

18 *Nursery Of Beauty*

Art is considered as the projection of man's inner feelings. Its aim is reunion of man and nature. Art is best known as the very reflection of nature in man.

India's art demands the highest object of life. Therefore it can well be said that his art of living is his greatest art. It comprises other branches of art also, e.g., the arts of thinking, writing and acting, and the art of influencing others.

India possesses the fullest faith in life. He is a true lover of life. He has a demanding nature. His is a receptive mind. He is a true devotee of science. He is a faithful servant of humanity. He is the joy of heavens. He is a unique throb of the universe.

Nature listens to the artist and he is perfectly attentive towards her. Both of them depend upon each other. The artist gives reception to the former. This is the reason that India appears to me as a Special Envoy of Nature.

The history of nature is the history of this universe. We can easily say that world history is the history of those art-makers who had faith in themselves. Faith is the father of art. Have faith. Failure will fly away from you. The fire of faith creates for you a light of life. You will be known as a greatman with the rays of faith. Nothing is impossible for men possessing self confidence.

The only idea behind the philosophy of India is to make man the greatest force of the universe. Therefore strength is the watch-word of India.

India is immortal through its art which Indians understand fully.

Our art is most natural and spontaneous. It is primeval. The *Rigveda* is the oldest book of mankind. It is the greatest work of man's spontaneous art. Therefore we can say it without hesitation that our ultroneous art is the oldest product of humanity. It is engineered by divine forces.

Purity, patience and perseverance are the main qualities of India. Let us call them as three P's of India. Purify your mind. Be sincere to your backbone. Work hard. It will be a great proof of your sincerity. This will lead you towards success. This is how India speaks. Be patient because patience is the backbone of hard work. This is how India asserts.

It's high time to go. We have lost ourselves amongst those who take us astray. We far away from nature. Separation from it will create a gulf between us and the poor who live in unison with nature. We should go to the villages if we wish to be in nature's life. Villagers need us.

The modern civilization has turned like a tyrant on us. If has changed our lives into technological exercises in sinister lunacy. Our brains are puffing out petrified notions which make us bitter against the poor. On account of this we are becoming mechanical exactitudes and we feel severed from our own selves.

Being away from the poor we are alien to our sensibilities. We are fragemented, dissected and pigeon-holed. The structures of our civilization have given way and they barely leave a room for you to breathe in a natural atmosphere.

We watch ourselves most carefully. We should sense our imperfection. It is from life's light that we are proceeding towards the shadows of life. This feeling will not make us a success. Take light and shade together in a proper way and we will find before our eyes the best picture of our society which we wish to take towards the path of socialism and secularism.

Remember, the man of action is the man of nature. He is dynamic. He loves the realities of universe.

Today the real life, which should be devoutly sought after by citizens has grown blind, bland and banal. It has robbed the human soul of its naturalness.

Jump out. The future belongs to the hard worker who is reattuned to nature.

The green revolution is a natural turning. It is a new focus. It is a radical function. It is a wonderful science of manmaking. The man who goes to the greenery of nature is a man in the real sense.

The ultroneous art of India goes beyond the finite limits of human mind. It energizes its admirers. It arises spontaneously into a volcanic fury and becomes unfolded all of a sudden. It tells us that East and West are one. It tells us that we are a whole harmonious humanity. It trumpets the legitimacy of our shared existence.

Sometimes it appears to me that India's art is a result of the divine inspiration. It may be a claim too big to grasp.

There is no doubt that once there was a divine art that shaped the ends of man. Today that greatest force of the universe is present before us physically. It is the force of India's ultroneous art which is seen in every word and in every action of Indians.

Life is much easier and more enjoyable in the East than it is in the West. People in India are very near to nature. There is nothing wrong in saying that Indians worshipped nature blindly. All powers of Nature were dified in India and were worshipped as gods and goddesses. Even today the Hindus say that food and the wind are gods. For them the earth is a goddess.

People in the West are living a jelly-fish existence. They do not believe in having a proper structure of life. They do not know the art of man-making. On the contrary they mar the modern man. It is India alone that creates art for the welfare of the whole world. It is here that we learn the art of assimilating spontaneous ideas.

Swami Vivekanand used to say: "If you have assimilated any five ideas and made them your life and character you have more education than any man who has got by heart a whole library."

Indians have definitely assimilated the five ideas of FP, TP, ADC, GTV and EOTO. FP=Family Planning. TP=Tree Planting. A.D.C.= Anti Dowry Campaign. G.T.V.=Go To Villages, E.O.T.O.=each one teach one.

Art can be cultivated by all because it is loved and adored by all. Every artist is a star. The stars give us the firmament—the eternal sky. It is with the help of the sky alone that the waves of artistic ideas travel from one place to another. It is an artistic fact that the roots of man lie very high in the Seventh Sky. Art began with man's search for his roots. The stars were the first pieces of artistic creation in the universe. They were born out of the solar energy.

We cannot say very exactly when the colours of the rainbow and the beauties of nature appeared out of the Cosmic Life. Man, we know it for certain, is the result of an Artistic Revolution which India is presenting to the world. Man has been worshipped as God only with the help of art. The prophets and guides of humanity were men like others. They became supermen. Why? Because they possessed the real zest for life.

Men can become spiritual prophets if they do not care for the material profits of life. They have to attain super-consciousness which India has attained.

Super-consciousness is the greatest source of the world. The artist cannot do without it. The higher the degree of strength, the greater the artist. It is because of his super-consciousness that India is the best country of the globe.

The very fact that some men and women reach the state of superconscious proves another fact that it is possible for every person to do so. My readers may try to achieve it. They will surely get it.

Not to speak of this possibility alone, every person must reach the state of super-consciousness. The artist has to achieve it at all costs. Go and consult an artist. He will support my contention.

Art is man's state of super-consciousness. There was a time in India when everybody in every family was expected to be an artist. Every Indian woman knows folk art. We may dive deep into the ocean of Indian mythology. The Goddess of Learning *Saraswati* is seen in every house with her musical instrument—*Veena*. Peacock is her throne. Our

Goddess of Wealth is seen in the company of our fauna and flora. Elephants are offering her lotus flowers.

Parvati is conceived by us as the daughter of the Himalayas. If Lord Shiva is famous for his *Tandava* dance, Parvati gives us the *Lasya-Nritya*. In every Hindu house we have Parvati in the form of Goddess Durga. The cult of Durga in India is responsible for the artistic temples of Mahashakti in all our hilly tracts. The Trinity is seen today personified in India. Many artists in the West are becoming lifeless mockeries. Why? Because they have come to believe that art is meant for them alone and not for the masses.

The world is in need of the rosiest art which belongs to India alone. We fill life with joy. How? With our art.

Our spontaneous art is born out of his selflessness and self-sacrifice. It is a result of ones burning love. It comes direct from his heart. It is romantic in its nature. It has no place for intolerance in its polity. It recognizes dignity in every man and woman. Creativity is the sweetest fruit of India's life.

All material things make progress up to a certain point and after this they begin to decline. This is a universal law which governs the physical creation. But this is the greatest wonder of the universe that the ultroneous art of India has never seen a decline. It is something everlasting—it is a thing of man's spirit. It has nothing to do with material progress. If it is at all associated with matter, we must say, it is the finest one. Please remember that the finest matter is always the spirit. Do you know why? Energy can be named as finest matter. Therefore India's ultroneous art should be understood as a means for realising the spirit of mankind.

Weber, in his work on Indian literature, mentions the names of several ancient writers who composed treatises upon it. But only fragments of them remain. He adds, "There are also various modern Indian works on music, but the whole subject has been little investigated." "The art," Sir William Hunter observes, "still awaits investigation by some eminent Western Professor; and the contempt with which Europeans in India regard it, merely proves their ignorance of the system on which Hindu music is built up."

This European contempt for Indian music shows that the western world betrayed us intentionally and not out of ignorance. Today the West is appreciating our music.

"Painting in India, never passed beyond a rudimentary state—The laws of perspective were unknown to its artists." We doubt this statement of Mr. Willy. "The northern Jaina style is seen principally in beautiful Jaina cities of temples at Palitana of Girnar, in Gujarat, and at Mount Abu, the chief peak of the Aravalli range, where the sacred Nucki Talao ('pearl lake') is one of the loveliest gems of architecture in all India."

"Of the three varieties of Brahminical architecture," writes Sir George Birdwood, in his *Industrial Arts of India*, "the Dravidian style prevails in the *Deccan*, south of the Kistna, the Chalukyan between the Kistna and

Mahanadi, and the Indo-Aryan in Hindustan. The Dravidian temple is distinguished by its rectangular ground plan and storeyed pyramidal tower; the Chalukyan by its star like ground plan, and pyramidal tower; and the Indo-Aryan by its square ground plan, and curvilinear sikra or tower. In the Dravidian style, the temple almost invariably includes, besides the vimana or towered shrine, the mantapa or porch leading to the shrine; the choultri or pillared hall; numerous other buildings; elegant *stambhas* or pillars, bearing the images or flags of the gods, or numberless lamps all connected with the temple worship and service; tanks and gardens, and avenues of palms and sacred trees; and all these various portions are surrounded by the temple enclosure, with its grand *gopurams* or gateways. The architectural effect therefore of such temples as those of Tanjore, Tiruvalur, Seringham, Chillambaram, Rameswaram, Madura, Tinnevelly, Conjeveram, Vellore, Perur, and Vijayanagar, is most imposing. There is nothing in Europe that can be compared with their grandeur and solemnity, and for parallels to them we must go back to ancient Egypt and Assyria, and the temple at Jerusalem. The rockcut *kailas* at Ellora was executed by southern Dravidians, either the Cheras or *Cholas*, who had sway there during the eclipse of the *Chalukyas* between A.D. 750 and 950.

"The noblest example of the *Chalukyas* style is the great temple of Halabid, the old capital of the Rajput Bellalas of Mysore. Unfortunately, it was never finished, having been stopped by the Mohommedan conquest A.D. 1310. It is a double temple. The building is raised on a terrace from five feet to six feet in height. On this stands a frieze of elephants, 2000 in number, following all the sinuosities of the star-like ground-plan. Above it is a frieze of lions, then a band of scrollwork of infinite beauty and variety of design, over which is a frieze of horsemen; and then comes another scroll, over which is a frieze representing the conquest of *Lanka* by Rama. Then succeed two friezes, one above the other, of celestial beasts and celestial birds; and above these a cornice of scroll-work, bearing a rail, divided into panels, each containing two figures; over which are windows of pierced slabs of stone, divided at regular intervals, marked by the abutments of the temple by groups five feet six inches in height, of the gods and heavenly *Apsaras* of the Hindu pantheon. Above all would have risen, if the temple had been finished, the pyramidal towers of the structure. The Chalukyan style is seen also in the temple of Kait Iswara at Halabid, and the temples of Somnathpur and Baillur, both in Mysore; and in those of Buchropully, not far from Hyderabad, and of Hammoncondah or Warangal, also in the Nizam's dominion . . ."

"There are many splendid structural temples of the so called Indo-Aryan style in Central or Northern India, at Gwalior, Khajuraho, Udaipur, Benares, and Bindraban; and one of the remarkable opulent forms at Kandinagar near Dinajpur. The peculiar curved arch seen in pavilions connected with temples along the banks of the Ganges, and in the architecture generally of Northern India, is derived from the curvilinear roof which the Bengalis have learned to give their houses, by bending the bamboos used as a support for the thatch, or tiles. At the South Kensington museum the same curved form is seen in the roof of a shrine of Byzantine work."

As regards Hindus and their art it may be truly said that the artistic spirit displayed in the architecture of their temples penetrates the life of the people. From the earliest times they have been famous, throughout the world, for their skill in the production of delicate woven fabrics, in the blending of colours, in the working of metals and precious stones. Everything that comes from the hands of their artisans, down to the cheapest toy or earthen vessel, is a work of art. On this subject let us hear Sir George Birdwood, who, I suppose, is a great authority.

"Every house in India is likewise a nursery of the beautiful. In the meanest village hut the mother of the family will be found with her daughters engaged in spinning or weaving; and in the proudest native houses of the great polytechnical cities, the mistress, with her maidservants, may be seen at all hours of the day embroidering cloth in coloured silks, and silver and gold thread, reminding the visitor of similar household scenes in ancient Rome before slaves came, during the pampered period of the Caesar, to be employed in such work. There is thus a universally diffussed popular appreciation of technical skill and taste in workmanship, which must necessarily have had effect in promoting the unrivalled excellence of the historical art handicrafts of India. . . The people possess the tradition of a system of decoration founded on perfect principles which they have learnt, through centuries of practice, to apply with unerring truth. . . Apart from the natured beauty of the days used, and the knowledge, taste, and skill of the natives of India in the harmonious arrangement of colours, the charm of their textile fabrics lies in the simplicity and treatment of the decorative details. The knob and flower pattern appears universally, but infinitely modified, never being seen twice under the same form; and the swastic and lotus, which have been reduced through extreme conventionalisation to one pattern. We have beside the shoe flower, and parrots, and peacocks, and lions, and tigers, the men on horseback, or, hunting or fighting. These objects are always represented quite flat as in mosaic work, or in drops entailles, and generally symmetrically and in alternation. The symmetrical representation of natural objects in ornamentation, and their alternation seems through long habit to have become intuitive in the natives of the East. If you get them to copy a plan, they will peg it down flat on the ground, laying its leaves, and buds, and flowers out symmetrically on either side of the central stem, and then only will they begin to copy it. If the leaves and flowers of the plant are not naturally opposite but alternate, they will add others to make it symmetrical, or at least will make it appear so in the drawing. The intuitive feeling for alternation is seen in their gardens and heard in their music, and is as satisfactory in their music as in their decoration, when heard maid the associations which naturally call it forth. When the same form is used all over a fabric the interchange of light and shade, and the effect of alternation, are at once obtained by working the ornament alternately in two tints of the same colour. Each object, or division of an object, it painted in its own proper colour, but without shades of the colour, or light and shade of any kind, so that the oranmentation looks perfectly fiat, and laid like mosaic, on the ground. It is in this way that the natural surface of any object decorated is maintained in its integrity. This, added to the perfect harmony and distribution of the colouring, is the specific charm of Indian and Oriental decoration generally. Nothing can be more ignorant or ridiculous than the English and French methods of representing huge nosegays, or bunches of fern leaves tied together by flowing pink ribbons, in light and shade, on carpets, with the effect of full relief. One knows not where to walk among them. Continually also are to be seen perfect vases spoiled by the appearance of flowers in full relief stuck round them, or of birds flying out of them. Such egregrious mistakes are never made by the Indian decorative artist. Each ornament, prarticularly in textile fabrics, is generally traced round also with a line, in colour which harmonises it with the ground on which it is laid. In embroideries with variegated silks, for instance, on cloth, or satin, or velvet, a gold or silver thread is run round the outline of the pattern, defining it, and giving a uniform one to the whole texture. Gold is generally laid on purple, or in the lighter kincobs, on pink or red. An ornment on a gold ground is generally worked round with a dark thread to soften the glisten of the gold. In carpets, however, gay in colour, a low tone is secured by a general black outline of the details. All violent contrasts are avoided. The richest colours are used, but are so arranged as to produce the effect of a neutral bloom, which tones down every detail almost to the softness and transparency of atmosphere. The gold-braided snuff-kashmere shawl in the collection of the Prince of Wales presents this ethereal appearance. Light materials are lightly coloured, and ornamented, heavier, more richly, and, in the case of apparel, both the colouring and the ornaments are adopted to the effect which the fabric will produce when worn and in motion. It is only through generations of patient practice that men attain to the mystery of such subtleties. It is difficult to analyse the secret of the harmonious bloom of Indian texture, even with the aid of Cheveul's prismatic scale. When large ornaments are used, they are filled up with the most exquisite details as in the cone patterns in Kashmere shawls. The vice of Indian decoration is its tendency to run riot, as in Indian arms; but Indian textile fabrics, at least, are singularly free from it, and particularly the carpets."

Next, I will put before my readers Sir George Birdwood's striking account of the way in which the Kuhars or potters work.

"The Indian potter's wheel is of the simplest and rudest kind. It is horizontal fly-wheel, two or three feet in diameter, loaded heavily with clay around the rim, and put in motion by the hand; and once set spinning, it revolves for five or seven minutes with a perfectly steady and true motion. The clay to be moulded is heaped on the centre of the wheel, and the potter squats down on the ground before it. A few vigorous turns, and away spins the wheel, round and round, and still and silent as a sleeping top, while at once the shapeless heap of clay begins to grow under the potter's hand into all sorts of faultless forms of archaic fertile art, which are carried off dried and baked as fast as they are thrown from the wheel. Any polishing is done by rubbing the baked jars and pots with a pebble. There is an immense demand for these water jars, cooking pots, and earthen frying pans and dishes. The Hindus have a religious prejudice against using an earthen vessel twice, and generally it is broken after the first pollution, and hence the demand for common earthenware in all Hindu families. There is an immense demand also for painted clay idols, which are also thrown away after being worshipped; and thus the potter, in virtue of his calling, is an hereditary officer in every Indian village. In the Deccan, the potter's field is just outside the village. Near the wheel is heap of clay, and before it rise two or three stacks of pots and pans, while the verandah of his hut is filled with the smaller wares and painted images of the gods, and epic heroes of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. He has to supply the entire village community with pitchers and cooking pans, and jars for storing grain and spices and salt, and to furnish travellers with any of these vessels they may require. Also, when the new corn begins to sprout, he has to take a water-jar to each field for the use of those engaged in watching the crop. But he is allowed to make bricks and tiles also, and for these he is paid. exclusively of his fees, which amount lo between £4and £5 a year. Altogether he earns between £10 and £12 year, and is passing rich with it. He enjoys beside, the dignity of certain ceremonial and honorific offices. He bangs the big drum, and chants the hymns in honour of Jami, an incarnation of the great goddess Bhavani, at marriages; and, at the dowra or village harvest home festivals, he prepares the barbat or mutton stew. He is, in truth, one of the most useful and respected members of the community, and in the happy organisation of Hindu village life there is no man happier than the hereditary potter, or Kumhar.

"We cannot overlook this serenity and dignity of his life, it we would rightly understand the Indian handicraftsman's work. He knows nothing of the desperate struggle for existence which oppresses the life and crushes the very soul out of the English working man. He has his assured place, inherited from father to son for a hundred generations, in the national church and state organisation, while nature provides everything to his hand, but the little food and less clothing he needs, and the simple tools of the trade. The English working man must provide for house rent, coals, furniture, warm clothing, animal food, and spirits, and for the education of his children, before he can give a mind free from family anxieties to his work. But the sun is the Indian workman's cooperative landlord, coal merchant, upholsterer, tailor, dublican, and butcher; the head partner, from whom he gets almost everything he wants, and free of all cost but his labour contribution towards the village trade union corporation, of which he is an indispensable and essential member. This at once relieves him from an incalculable had weight of cares, and enables him to give to his work, which is also a religious function, that contentment of mind and leisure, and pride and pleasure in it for its own sake, which are essential to all artistic excellence.

"The cause of all his comfrot, of his hereditary skill, and of the religious constitution under which his marvellous craftsmanship has been perfected, is the system of landed tenure which has prevailed in India, and stereotyped the social condition and civilisation of the country from the time of the Code of Manu."

Sir George Birdwood's account of the trade guilds of India also deserves our attention. He writes thus:

"The trade guilds of the great polytechnical cities of India are not, however, always exactly coincident with the sectarian or ethical caste of a particular class of artisans. Sometimes the same trade is pursued by men of different castes, and its guild generally includes every member of the trade it represents without strict reference to caste. The government of the guilds or unions is analogous to that of the village communities and caste, that is, by hereditary officers. Each separate guild is managed by a court of eldermen or *mahajans* (literally 'great gentlemen'). Nominally it is composed of all the freedom of the caste, but a special position is allowed to the *seths*, lords, or chiefs of the guild, who are ordinarily two in number, and hold their position by hereditary right. The only other office-bearer is a salaried clerk or *gumastah*.

"Membership in the guild is also hereditary, but newcomers may be admitted into it on the payment of an entrance fee, which in Ahmedabad amounts to £2 for paper-makers and £50 for tinsmiths. No unqualified person can remain in or enter a guild. It is not the practice to execute indentures of apprenticeship, but every boy born in a working caste of necessity learns his father's handicraft, and when he has mastered it, at once takes his place as an hereditary freeman of his caste or trade guild, his father, or, if he be an orphan, the young man himself, giving dinner to the guild on the occasion. In large cities the guilds command great influence. The *Nagar-Seth*, or city lord, of Ahmedabad, is the titular head of all the guilds, and the highest personage in the city, and is treated as its representative by the Government. In ordinary times he does not interfere in the internal affairs of the guilds, their management being left to the chief elderman of each separate guild, called the *Chautana Seth*, or 'lord of the market'.

"Under British rule, which secures the freest exercise of individual energy and initiative, the authority of the trade guilds in India has necessarily been relaxed, to the marked detriment of those handicrafts, the perfection of which depends on hereditary proceses and skill. The overwhelming importations of British manufactures also is even more detrimental to their prosperity and influence, for it has in many places brought wholesale ruin on the hereditary native craftsmen, and forced them into agriculture and even domestic service. But the guilds, by the stubborn resistance, further stimulated by caste prejudice, which they oppose to all innovations, still continue, in this forloron way, to serve a beneficial end, in maintaining for probably another generation, the traditional excellence of the sumptuary arts of India, against the fierce and commerciless competition of the English manufactures. The guilds are condemned by many for fixing the hours of labour and the amount of work to be done in them strict by-laws, the slightest infringement of which is punished by severe fines, which are the chief source of their income. But the object of these rules is to give the weak and unfortunate the same chance in life as others more favoured by nature. These rules naturally follow from the theocratic canceptions which have governed the whole organisation of social life in India, and it is incontrovertible that the unrestricted development of the competitive impulse in European life, particularly in the pursuit of personal gain, is absolutely antagonistic to the growth of the sentiment of humanity and of real religious convictions among men."

I will end my citations from Sir George Birdwood's most interesting volume with a warning which has received only too ample justification since it was written about the year 1880.

"What is chiefly to be dreaded is the general introduction of machinery into India. We are just beginning in Europe to understand what things may be done by machinery, and what must be done by hand work, if art is of the slightest consideration in the matter. But if, owing to the operation of certain economics causes. machinery were to be gradually introduced into India for the manufacture of its great traditional handicrafts, there would ensue an industrial revolution which, if not directed by an intelligent and instructed public opinion and the general prevalence of refined taste, would inevitably throw the traditional arts of the country into the same confusion of principles, and of their practical application to the objects of daily necessity, which has for three generations been the destruction of decorative art and of middle-class taste in England and North-Western Europe, and the United States of America.

"The social and moral evils of the introduction of machinery into India are likely to be still greater. At present the industries of India are carried on all over the country although hand-weaving is everywhere languishing in the unequal competition with Manchester and the Presidency mills. But in every Indian village all the traditional handicrafts are still to be found at work.

"Outside the entrance of the single village street, on the exposed rise of ground, the hereditary potter sits by his wheel moulding the swift revolving clay by the natural curves of his hands. At the back of the houses, which form the low irregular street, there are two or three looms at work in blue, and scarlet, and gold, the frames hanging between the acacia trees, the yellow flowers of which drop fast on the webs as they are being woven. In the street, the brass and coppersmiths are hammering away at their pots and pans, and further down, in the verandah of the rich man's house, is the jeweller working rupees and gold *mohrs* into fair jewllery, gold and silver earings, and round tires like the moon, bracelets, and tablets, and nose-rings, and tinkling ornaments for the feet, taking his designs from the fruits and flowers around him, or from the traditional forms represented in the paintings and carvings of the great temple, which rises over the groves of mangoes and palmsat the end of the street above the lotus-covered village tank. At half-past three or four in the afternoon the whole street is lighted up by the moving robes of the women going down to draw water from the tank, each with two or three water jars on her head; and so, while they are going and returning in single file, the scene glows like Titian's canvas, and moves like the stately procession of the Panathenaic frieze. Later, the men drive in the mild grey kine from the moaning plain, the looms are folded up, the coppersmiths are silent, the elders gather in the gate, the lights begin to glimmer in the fast-falling darkness, the feasting and the music are heard on every side, and late into the night the songs are sung from the *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata.* The next morning with sunrise, after the simple ablutions and adorations performed in the open air before the houses, the same day begins again. This is the daily life going on all over Western India in the village communities of the Deccan, among a people happy in their simple manners and frugal way of life, and in the culture derived from the grand epics of a religion in which they live and move, and have their daily being, and in which the highest expression of their literature, art, and civlisation has been stereotyped for 3000 years.

"But of late years these handicraftsmen, for the sake of whose works the whole world has been ceaselessly puring its bullion for 3000 years into India, and who, for all the marvellous tissue and embroidery they have wrought, have polluted no rivers, deformed no pleasing prospects, nor poisoned any air; whose skill and individuality the training of countless generations has developed to the highest perfection, these hereditary handicraftsmen are being everywhere gathered from their democratic village communities in hundreds and thousands into the colossal mills of Bombay, they drudge in gangs for tempting wages, at manufacturing piece goods, in competition with Manchester, in the production of which they are no more intellectually and morally concerned than the grinder of a barrel organ in the tunes turned out from it.

"I do not mean to depreciate the proper functions of machines in modern civilisation, but machinery should be the servant and never the master of men. It cannot minister to the beauty and pleasure of life, it can only be the slave of life's drudgery; and it should be kept rigorously in its place, in India as well as England. When in England machinery is, by the force of cultivated taste and opinion, no longer allowed to intrude into the domain of art manufacturers, which belongs exclusively to the trained mind and hand of individual workmen, wealth will become more equally diffused throughout society, and the working classes, through the elevating influence of their daily work, and the growing respect for their talent, and skill and culture, will rise at once in social, civil, and pollitical position, raising the whole country to the highest classes, with them; and Europe will learn to taste of some of that content and happiness in life which is to be still found in the Pagan East, as it was once found in Pagan Greece and Rome."

Gone are the days of the gold thread of our golden damsels. Ancient and medieval decorative details are now lost to us. The specific charm of the Indian and Oriental decoration is not seen on women's dresses. Today in India violent contrasts in the field of art are appreciated. No, the shawls of Kashmir are not gold-braided. The mystery of artistic sub leties which we preserved for generations and generations has disappeared for ever. The exquisite details seen in ancient Indian ornaments is no more there. Painted clay idols of the Indian potters have been replaced by rubber toys and other paris-plaster goods. The cold water from an earthen pitcher is now avoided by the people who have begun to buy the five paisa glass of cold machine-water. The bricks, tiles and cups are made in big Kilms and potteries.

Now the dead weight of care is always on every worker's head in the villages because trade-guilds are no more there. At present we do not find a *Nagar-Seth* in any India town. The question of the *Chautan Seth* does not arise either. The idea of leading a civilized life of the Western style has ruined the very spirit of Indian craftsmanship . Introduction of machinery has created the spirit of cheating in the minds of our people. Now the village scene does not glow like Titian's canvas, does not move like the stately procession of the Panathenaic frieze on account of the beauties in our villages. They prefer city life to rural living. The love of the epic songs is destroyed. Film songs reach our people through the All India Radio. All kinds of nonsense is poured into one's ears.

Our wealth is concentrated at the centres of machinery-lords. It is not diffused throughout all the people of India. Our love of machinery has cnormously increased our problem of unemployment.

In his book "Anecdotes from Indian Life" Mr. A.S. Vaswani writes thus:

"The evolution of Indian mind has gone through numerous phases. Each political upheaval has contributed something very significant to the cultural complex of this country. The Dravidian and Indus valley civilizations gave us the original Community form of life which fostered the first folk arts. The spiritual beliefs although primitive in their conception at this early period of civilization had paved a path for further speculation of mind and quest for achievement of peace and happiness. With the coming of the Aryans, the age of worship of animal deities gave way progressively to the new era of nature gods with human attributes. Ritual replaced magical ceremonies of riddance from evil and malignant spirits. Superstition was banished by reason. The Aryans established themselves in many

Eurasian countries. Their philosophical speculations about the meaning of existence and nature of universal soul constitute their religious treatises. While these religious conceptions were crystalising into a theological system the social fabric was developing into a pattern of caste system based upon the vocations of various people.

"These religious and social conceptions culminated into graphic arts during the influence of Buddhism. The frescoes at Ajanta caves and the magnificent *stupas* and stone carvings at Karle, Sanchi, Godhara and Amravati are the mounemental relics of this great age. It is now common knowledge that Buddhist and Hindu culture had spread as far as the American continent by the polar land route, via China, nearly a millennium before Columbus explored the sea route to the "Forgotten World". The exquisite Mexican carvings and other cultural links with the native inhabitants such as Aztecs and others testify to that.

"The revival of Brahminism after the advent of Buddhism gave a fresh stimulus to creative output of Hindu culture. Forms in art followed their literary imagery. Thus the great *Trimurti* took shape—a triple aspect of one supreme god: Brahma the creative aspect, Vishnu the sustaining aspect and Shiva the destructive aspect. This philosophy had evolved into some of the noblest Hindu literature and art.

"The visualisation of the Hindu artist however was not dictated by his individual preferences, but in terms of canons which stipulated proportion, pose of body, gestures of limbs and hands etc., which constituted for him a kind of medium of expression as words do for the writer or mathematical formulae for the engineer. Gestures of hands known as *Mudras* are vibrant symbols of characteristic activities—teaching, meditating, blessing, not fearing, etc. which epitomise the essential significance of the painting, sculpture or dance.

"During the Gupta period, Hindu culture reached its zenith. Buddhism came in contact with renascent Brahminism and the trend in statuary turned towards grace, ease and humanism. *Budhisattva Avalokiteshwara* a bronze statue is an apt example of the art of this period. It represents Buddha seated in an easy pose with a raised leg, with one arm on the knee and his weight supported by the left arm—the traditional *mudra* of teaching. By the 9th century A.D. the strongly missionary religion spread to Java. The exquisite stone carvings depicting scenes from the *Ramayana* at Borobudur illustrate the extent of geographial boundaries reached by Hindu influence. Post Gupta—the decadent period of Hindu art is marked by the exotic and forceful scrulptures of Konarak and Khajuraho.

"Meanwhile the southern part of the peninsula was producing graceful bronzes such as *Natraj* the dancing Shiva, Parvati, Bhudevi etc. The Rajputs and the Moghuls practised their art in the traditions of the Ajanta. They picked their themes from secular life, often romantic stroies from the heroic epics. They introduced painting of miniature portraits, and symbolised musical symphonies, known as *Raginis*. While the Rajput painting was lyrical and religious the Moghul painting was secular, of which miniature portraits, hunting and court scenes and some of the noblest architecture are apt examples.

"After a period of harmony, communal and religious passions began to engulf the varied heritage of Indian culture. By the eighteenth century India lay prostrate, disunited and dismembered at the feet of new invaders. The decay in every sphere of cultural, social and economic life became complete. The fountain sources of inspiration dried up. There was a marked decline in the evolution of Indian mind. Fortunately out of adversity was born a spirit of nationalism and unity which was fired by the ideas of political and social freedom enjoyed at that time by the Western nations. By force of events rather than by political strategy the country has redeemed its freedom but it is too early at this stage to say what direction our new cultural trends will take. In the context of new political ideologies and power politics, economic depression, utopianism and moral degeneration the future seems to be dark and bleak. But yet there is a ray of hope that given a period of peace and tranquillity India could reach new heights of cultural glory rising not on crutches offered by others but by dint of her own industry and *albour* of mind."

A.S. Vaswani shows that India possesses an agile mind which is really needed by the world of today. India's art is the universal art.

Indian handicrafts are very much appreciated in the West. Our artisans have really been men of promise and performance while our artists have created new horizons of life.

A.S. Vaswani has described the beauty of Indian designs and forms. He finds that the Indian artists have placed India on the world's Map of culture. About our arts of handicrafts. A.S. Vaswani says thus:

"The Greek sculptures excelled in making life-like figures of heroes and heroines and they laid great emphasis on physical proportions and anatomy. But the Indian artist is not tempted when modelling an image to recreate its original appearance which is obvious to all but he goes beyond the outward form and he draws the essential character of his subject. Leaving the form he goes to the spirit. Thus while carving an elephant he will bring out its gait of movement, heaviness, power and majesty. In a deer he will see the delicate sprightliness and lightness of spirit and the form that he will create will be a representation of flying beauty, a sheer rhythm in line and colour. The cow will represent gentleness and fullness of motherly blessings so essential for the support of our life. The bull will be the personification of vigour and power necessary for arduous tasks of ploughing and turning the water wheel. The lion will represent fear, force and dignity and the tiger litheness and ferocity. It is in this sphere that the Indian artist stole the march over the realistic copyist of the West. The revolt in art in America today is also against this trend but the frustrated Western artist in his attempt to break away from the dullness of reality, has also lost the grace of creative beauty and charm and his work is a representation of agony, a piercing cry in wilderness, blotches of colour on canvass which is known as surrealism but which I would only call dramatic and aggressive exhibitionism—a short cut to notoriety. Withour labout, patience and imagination grace and charm cannot be achieved. What India accomplished took her fifty centuries of continuous constructive effort and experimentation and hereditary training. The lesson that was learnt was handed down to posterity and the tradition of the past lived in the present."

Vaswani adds further:

"The fantasies of Indian craftsmen in the decorative use are invoked from the wealth of animal and floral forms or their significance as revealed by the Indian folk art. The Indian craftsman even while making objects of the meanest utility, such as a lock or berelnut cracker, will use animal forms to bring life to cold steel or brass. The lock will be in the shape of a lion—the tail fitting into the socket at the back of its head. A hand mirror will be placed on the back of a camel and so on. These objects although made in an unfunctional design are easy to handle and do not lack practical utility. The rock relief known as 'Descent of Ganges' in Mahabalipuram with its exquisite sculptures of elephants, deers and monkeys is a living monument to the master-craftsmanship of Indian artists in rendering animal form."

Indian craftsmanship has been practised for over five thousand years. This long period of time can be broadly broken up into seven periods: Indus Valley period, Vedic age, Buddhist period, the epoch of renascence Brahmanism; the classic Rajput period; the Mohammedan medieval period; and the age of modern national revival.

Indian art has remained primarily religious. Even secular objects have been imbued with religious significance. The speculative mind of our artist ever seeks to objectify the ultimate reality.

The pottery found in Mohen-jo-Daro bears an eloquent testimony to its painted patterns and glaze. Stone vessels and steatite seals with animal motifs are examples of ancient Indian art of carving in stone. Moulded tiles of blue and green glass have been excavated at Mathura and Pataliputra. Practice of ivory craft has also been established to be at least five thousand years old in India. Ornaments of polished gold and gold cups are mentioned in the *Rig Veda*.

A.S. Vaswani sums up the history of Indian arts and crafts in the following words:

"Crystal carvings of the Buddhist time are well-known. An inscription on Sanchi Stupa reveals that ivory carvings were made by Indian craftsmen in 200 B.C. Megasthenes has spoken highly of exquisitely woven, flowered muslins and robes embroidered in pure gold. Indian silks, brocades, muslins and prints found their way to European and Asian markets.

"During the Gupta period, Buddhism came under the influence of renascent Brahmanism and the trend in statuary and metalware was towards grace, ease and humanism. Craft pieces of this period are also highly decorative and artistic.

"The Rajputs pursued in the same traditions aud gave us in addition an exquists armoury—steel helmets, chain armour, sharp swords and their decorative sheaths, water jugs and dishes intricately carved, displaying heroic acts and hunting scenes. While in painting the Rajputs displayed Iyrical feelings of tenderness. Their *Ragnis* or melody paintings are well known.

"The Mughal was less Indian than the Rajput with its Islamic canons and narrow restrictions, Muslim art was extended to architectural decoration. The very restrictions of this art are responsible for its concentration on decoration its exuberant inventiveness in line, pattern and brilliant colour. In stone, stucco, wood, ivory or marble, inlay of rich stuffs such as brilliantly coloured glass and precious stones were frequently used. Metal received the same resplendent treatment. In textile design and book docoration also we find emphasis on the floral design.

"Right up to the advent of Islam in India the craftsman was an important member of the Indian society and was provided for economially by that society. The monasteries had their guilds of painters, sculptors metal workers and carvers.

"But under the British this system began to break up and the thread of skilled workmanship which ran smoothly even through the worst Muslim bigotry was for the first time snapped. Craftsmen were thrown out of employment.

"India became the monopolized market of British goods and manufactures. Even cloth began to be supplied from England. Indian weavers had to cut off their thumbs voluntarily to prevent their deportation to Lancashire. In some cases they were maimed if their skill and industry collided with British industry."

This has been acknowledged by many writers and historians that the artisans and craftsmen of India were betrayed not by her Muslim rulers but by her British administrators. I think that the Britishers were feeling extremely jealous about the artistic tendencies of the Indians. They thought the Indians mind could be trampled over by destroying the arts of our country.

For centuries, India has been a source of inspiration to many nations. Ancient river civilizations were parallel to India civilization. India influenced Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, Iran, Arabia, China and Far Eastern countries. India's gift to China was Buddhism, to the Far East, Hindu philosophy and art and to the West, through the Arabs, she gave medical science, mathematics, fables, astronomy, and philosophy.

Regimentation in education and art introduced by the British has still its firm grip on us. Our educationists are still aiming at mass reproduction rather than quality, We need hundreds of reforms in our educational system which must be made job-oriented. Eradication of the evil of unemployment is possible through craftsmanship and salesmanship.

In India the Bombay school has readjusted its training programme in the light of national tradition. Delhi Polytechnic School of Art also turned a new leaf under the able guidance of Shri Makhan Lal Dass Gupta.

Among our modern and reactionary artists there are many who draw their inspiration from Picasso, Matisse, Gauguin, Van Gogh and Braque who, in their turn, have all reacted to Victorian naturalism in a rude way and created many monstrosities. These artistis are the victims of bohemianism. They may be considered at best as depictors of chaos. Today Indian artists are content with cunning manipulation of lines and colour. Some of them are quite adept at sensation mongering. Their works are stiff and static and often ugly. The sources of their inspiration are vague. They seem to have assimilated a medley of influences from all corners of the globe.

Most of our artists, like moths have tried to tap the magic flowers of Amrita Sher Gill, and of the village women who paint their cottages with coloured cowdung. It will do well for the sake of art to ignore their kind rather than encourage them.

As regards the spirit of Indian Art, A.S. Vaswani says. "The Egyptians and the Greeks were attracted by a sense of material success, power and physical perfection and their art never surpassed its realistic character. But the philosophic and imaginative Indian sought something nobler. He sought sublime, transcendental harmony with Nature and he tried to depict his spiritual emotions in the temple carvings and frescoes. Insistence in India is on emotional sincerity as against intellectual sincerity in the West—on lyrical impulse rather than on the dramatic impulse—intuition rather that on reason—on contemplation more than on action. The Indian artist did not seek to crush his impulse with cold reason but gave a lofty tone to his visions of life and its high purpose. He was concerned not with realistic observation but with contemplation and spiritual edification. He regarded the objects perceptible by the senses merely as transitory meanifestations of a great eternal force pervading the universe."

Artists like P.I. Narsimhamurti have started tapping fountains of India's rural enchantment and their exhibits at home and aborad have not failed to arouse warm applause. S.B. Palsikar is an imaginative painter who continues the tradition of Indian art in modern style.

In the memorable traditional style revived by Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose, many young artists of today are doing excellent work. Their work is chaste, forceful and enduring. Sri Gourango Charan Sawn is a prolific producer of genuine traditional style, paintings and carvings. The main features of his art are the vision, grouping, balance and harmony of colours.

Art exhibitions held in Bombay saw works of Modern Andhra Art. The work of Sri Paidi Raju the well known Principal of Vijayangarm Arts

College was of outstanding merit. Bombay and Baroda Schools are also doing their best to encourage the trend of orginality in painting, sculppture, wood carving and in commercial art.

Dhanraj Bhagat is a noteworthy modern art sculptor. He hates models. "Subtract the mind" he says, "and the eyes are opened to no purpose." A painting or sculpture should have primarily the charm of conception. S.H. Raze, the famed mystic of India, turned surrealist in Paris. He did a lot to dignify the Indian horizon and landscape but India gave him a torn shirt for his back and a gnawing hunger in his stomach. He went to France and the Parisians conferred on him the Grand Prix and their citizenship. We have in our midst another artist of note—Mr. A.A. Lemelkar who has brought about a wonderful synthesis in modern and medieval art and is making a bid to outdo the Rajput and Moghul period miniature paintures.

We have seen quite a few child art exhibitions organised by *Shankar's Weekly*. The art of children is highly appealing on account of its direct approach, simplicity and truthfulness. Every stroke of line and patch of colour reflects originality of conception and execution. Fun and humour abound in their pictures, for sorrow's withering hand has not touched the sunshine of their lives.

Large collections of old masters belonging to Rajput, Moghul, Kangra, Gular, Jammu and Poonch schools are with many curio dealers of Delhi, Bombay and other cities. These people during the British reign used to hunt up these precious paintings and sell them to foreigners for personal gain. They are destroying our national archaeological monuments and stealing statues from temples to sell them to foreigners. Our poor government dedicated to the appeasement of the foreigners can do little about it. India is betrayed not only by the foreigners but by her own greedy criminals also who commit thefts in temples and centres of Indian Art. What a great shame that our *Nat Raj* is not found in India!

What is the meaning of freedom if we cannot save and preserve our national heritage? Our art is still leaving our country through the piratical net work of foreign embassies.

India is one of the most colourful and most richly endowed countries in the world and there is not lack of subjects for the artists. To illustrate our life in its myriad aspects is a worthy and vast task for any artist to tackle. There are people who deeply admire India and they have strong faith in the genius of the Indian artist.

19 *Axing The Truth*

After Gandhi's death truth has been discarded. Non-violence has been given up. Communal harmony is not to be seen. Lovers of God have been mercilessly beaten. Patriotsm has been replaced by betrayal. CIA—has proved to be, beyond doubt, the American octopus over India. Our Ocean of Young Blood has been dried up. Our women have been led astray. We are being laught that the *Ramayan* and the *Mahabharat* had nothing to do with reality. Now it is planned that the translation of the *Vedas* must be done according to the wishes of the Americans who do not like to depict our ancestors in flying colours. The whole of the world feels jealous of our glorious past. The western communities do not want us to take an inspiration from our ancient history. In reality the West has forgotten that all light comes from the East where the sun rises. It sets in the West and we have to save our people from the sin of betrayal by taking our readers to the Theory of Soul.

The Gandhian ideology is nothing new. It is not an original way of thinking. It is more or less a Jain's philosophy based upon the doctrines of Jainisism. For the Indians it has become the cause of much confusion and trouble. I have already reproduced them elsewhere, but they will bear repetition. Gandhi said: "For me, truth is the sovereign principle, which includes numerous other principles. This truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle, that is God. There are innumerable definitions of God, because His manifestations are innumerable. They overwhelm me with wonder and awe and for a moment stun me. But I worship God as Truth only. I have not yet found Him, but I am seeking after Him. I am prepared to sacrifice the things dearest to me in pursuit of this quest. Even if the sacrifice demanded be my very life, I hope I may be prepared to give it. But as long as I have not realized this Absolute Truth, so long must I hold by the relative truth as I have conceived it. That relative truth must, meanwhile, be my beacon, my shield and buckler. Though this path is strait and narrow and sharp as the razor's edge, for me it has been the quickest and easiest. Even my Himalayan blunders have seemed trifling to me because I have kept strictly to this path. For the path has saved me from coming to grief, and I have gone forward according to my light. Often in my progress I have had faint glimpses of the Absolute Truth, God, and daily the convinction is growing upon me that He alone is real and all else is unreal."

And, then towards the end of the book: "My uniform experience has convinced me that there is no other God than Truth. And if every page of these chapters does not proclaim to the reader that the only means for the realization of Truth is *Ahimsa,* I shall deem all my labour in writing these chapters to have been in vain. And, even though my efforts in this behalf may prove fruitless, let the reader know that the vehicle, not the great principle, is at fault. After all, however sincere my strivings after *Ahimsa* may have been, they have still been imperfect and inadequate. The little fleeting glimpses, therefore, that I have been able to have of Truth can hardly convey an idea of the indescribable lustre of Truth, a million times more intense than that of the sun we daily see with our eyes. In fact what I have caught is only the faintest glimmer of that mighty effulgence. But this much I can say with assurance, as a result of all my experiments, that a perfect vision of Truth can only follow a complete realization of *Ahimsa.*"

Gandhi was thus out to make experiments with Truth; India's freedom was, in the final analysis, no more than laboratory material for him. His deity was not the goddess called India or Freedom, but Truth, His path was Love. He was determined to seek Truth. Nothing else mattered. Whatever did not conform to this value of values was worthless.

Gandhi was no saint in the ancient sense. Quest for truth was not a new thing. He knew that it was difficult to define truth. He must have known, too that the true nature of truth was lost. Jesus Christ was brought before Pilate and, the latter did ask the question, What is Truth? He did not wait for the answer. The answer was given through Jessu's crucifixion. May be, Christ crucified is the essence of the truth—The play of life is a reality. The reality is pain and sorrow, and the crucifixion of Christ or the murder of Gandhi—senseless things, may be; but such is the shape of reality.

Gandhi realised the contradictions which any theoretical discussion and definition of truth is bound to throw up. That is why, when confronted with atheists, he refused to argue. It was easy for him to confound his opponents through a three-stepped exposition : (1) You do not believe in God, but surely, you believe in truth? Since the answer would invariably be, 'yes, I do', so the next step would be easy; (2) Well, God is Truth. Nay, (3) Truth is God; let us meet on that common ground. Even the most inveterate liar often lacks the courage to say that he does not believe in truth. Hypocrisy is the homage, as Oscar Wilde puts it, which vice pays to virtue, and the liar pays to truth. But such quibbling apart, there is the genuine possibility of disagreement in respect of what constitutes truth, especially if we accept the common-place definition that truth is the voice of one's conscience. This is not to say that in day-to-day life, we do not know inside us what the truth of the matter is.

We may not all have the courage to speak out the truth, to acknowledge it, or to act it. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that every time one *knows*, inside one, what the truth is.

Gandhi always liked to appeal to the better judgement and the conscience of the rich, so that they would relinquish their wealth voluntarily—though gradually! and will, during the interim period, serve as trustees. He explained all this, at length:

"The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural wants and no more. For example, if one man has a weak digestion and requires only a quarter of a pound of flour for his bread and another needs a pound, both should be in a position to satisfy their wants. To bring this ideal into being the entire social order has got to be reconstructed. A society based on non-violence cannot nurture any other ideal. We may not perhaps be able to realize the goal, but we must bear it in mind and work unceasingly to near it. To the same extent as we progress towards our goal we shall find contentment and happiness, and to the extent, too, shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non-violent society.

"Now let us consider how equal distribution can be brought about through non-violence. The first step towards it is for him who has made this ideal part of his being to bring about the necessary changes in his personal life. He would reduce his wants to a minimum, bearing in mind the poverty of India. His earnings would be free of dishonesty. The desire for speculation would be renounced. His habitation would be in keeping with his new mode of life. There would be self-restraint exercised in every sphere of life. When he has done all that is possible in his own life, then only will he be in a position to preach this ideal among his associates and neighbours.

"Indeed at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the trusteeship of the wealthy for superfluous wealth possessed by them. For according to the doctrine they may not possess a rupee more than their neighbours. How is this to be brought about? Non-violently? Or should the wealthy be dispossed of their possessions? To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence... This violent action cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. Therefore non-violent way is evidently superior. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society. In this argument, honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed.

If however, in spite of the utmost effort, the rich do not become guardians of the poor in the true sense of the term and the latter are more and more crushed and die of hunger, what is to be done? In trying to find out the solution of this riddle I have lighted on non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience as the right and infallible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society. If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread amongst the poor, they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation."

Gandhi called himself a socialist. Of course he differed on the means to achieve the objective, and on fundamentals like, for instance, his approach to Industry.

In his own way, he was socialist. His socialism was one with a difference, just as he himself was a man with a difference. Defining his concept of socialism, he said:

"Socialism is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware in socialism all the members of society are equal—none low, none high. In the individual body, the head is not high because it is the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of society. This is socialism.

"In it the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and employee are all on the same level. In terms of religion there is no duality in socialism. It is all unity.

"In order to reach this state we may not look on things philosophically and say that we need not make a move until all are converted to socialism. . .

"Socialism begins with the first convert. If there is one such, you can add zeros to the one and the first zero will count for ten and every addition will count for ten times the previous number. If, however, the beginner is a zero, in other words, no one makes the begnning, multiplicity of zeros will olso produce zero value. Time and paper occupied in writing zeros will be so much waste.

"This socialism is as pure as crystal. It, therefore, requires crystal-like means to achieve it. Impure means result in an impure end. Hence the prince and the peasant will not be equalized by cutting off the prince's head, nor can the process of cutting off equalize the employer and the employed. One cannot reach truth by untruthfulness. Truthful conduct alone can reach truth. Are not non-violence and truth twins? The answer is an emphatic 'no'. Non-violence is embedded in truth and *vice versa.* Hence it has been said that they are faces of the same coin. Either is inseparable from the other. Read the coin either way. The spelling of words will be diflerent. The value is the same. This blessed state is unattainable without perfect purity. Harbour impurity of mind or body, and you have untruth and violence in you.

"Therefore, only truthful, non-violent and pure hearted socialists will be able to establish a socialistic society in India and the world. To my knowledge, there is no country in the world which is purely socialist. Without the means described above the existence of such a society is impossible."

"Yes, impossible, and so it will remain because the so called socialists are neither truthful nor non-violent. It is very difficult to see the purity of their heart

Gandhi was as deeply influenced by the *New Testament* as also by the *Gita*.

Both these books lay a great deal of emphasis on control of the passions. The *New Testament* is more emphatic. "Thou shalt not commit adultery", is among the commandments. In his first epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul leaves one in no uncertainty about the position *vis a vis* sex if not of Christ, at least of the disciples:

"Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me; It is good for a man not to touch a woman.

"Neverthless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.

"But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment. For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.

"I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I.

"But if they cannot contain let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn."

And, again:

"Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: yet I give my judgment, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful.

"Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife.

"But and if thou marry thou hast not sinned; and if a virgin marry, she hath not sinned. Neverthless such shall have trouble in the flesh: but I spare you.

"But this I say, brethren, the time *is* short: it remainth, that both they that have wives be as though they had none.

"He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the lord; how he may please the lord:

"But he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please *his* wife.

"There is diflerence *also* between wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please *her* husband."

The constant refrain of the *Geeta* in this respect, gives us the total sum of Gandhi's view of sex. In his *Autobiography*, he tells us;

"I began reading the Gita. . . . The verses in the second chapter
If one ponders on objects of the sense, there springs
Attraction; from attraction grows desire,
Desire flamed to fierce passion breeds
Recklessness; then the memory—all betrayed—

Lets noble purpose go, and saps the mind,
Till purpose, mind, and man are all undone.

made a deep impression on my mind, and they still ring in my ears. The book struck me as one of priceless worth. The impression has ever since been growing on me with the result that I regard it today as the book par excellence for knowledge of Truth. It has afforded me invaluable help in my moments of gloom."

Mr. Kanwar Lal tells us in his famous book "*Good-bye Mr. Gandhi*:

"Studying these two books and their philosophy, Gandhi got caught. And yet, nobody gets caught like this, unless preparations for a change and conversion have been taking place for a long while. In the case of Gandhi, such preparations had been going on for a number of years. His development in this respect makes a fascinating study and would be an interesting case for psycho-analysis. Sex-activity at moments of great emotional stress on other counts can have a lasting effect and bring about—immediately or later—strange conseqences. And this is what happened to Gandhi, also. But let us first have quick look at the main stages of this development.

"Gandhi was married when he was but a boy of thirteen. Yet it is significant that, instead of allowing his wife who was of the same age and, therefore, as psychiatrists would assure us, maturer than young Gandhi, he assumed the role and authority of the husband straightaway. Within a short time, he began to feel towards his wife like a man, and found that he had lust in abundance. While at school, he would keep thinking of his wife. May be that explains why he was unable to do well at school. Then, he had an upsetting experience. His father was ill and he used to nurse him with great affection; but his thoughts would stray to his wife and the bed. On the night on which his father died, he was with his wife enjoying her in spite of the fact that she was with child. Just then the servant brought the news that his father was dead. That give him such a shock and created such a deep sense of shame that his whole life was in a way coloured by that."

"Gandhi began to change, and started actively thinking in terms of taking the vow of *brahmachary*, celebacy.

Added to this was his conviction that, if one would be a social reformer and a servant of the people, than one had to be a celibate. Thus, as in other matters affecting Gandhi's life, one thing led to another, and soon he took, and made his wife accept, the vow of *brahmcharya*.

"This is fantastic, writes Mr. Kanwanr lal in the sense that after 24 years of married life, one would normally feel like doing that and, therefore, to make too much of this vow is not quite the thing. The Hindu *shastras* enjoin upon every one to take that vow after 25 years of life as a *grihasth*. Only, from that point of view the *grihast ashram* begins at 25 and not at 13, as it began for Gandhi. Again, in the Hindu scheme of things it is allowed that husband and wife may go together to the forest, as *vanprasthis*, and it is only after another 25 years of companionship—

without sex relations as such—that the man may become a *sanyasi.* Then he has nothing to do with anything or anyone as kith and kin, for the whole world is now his kin."

It may be that most people can do without the act and refrain from physical relation with wife or woman, but that is not celibacy. To be all the time thinking of woman and sex, or to be hearing or speaking about this matter, is as much connected with lust, as physical indulgence is. *Brahmcharya* means continence, celibacy, chastity, in word, deed and thought. Gandhi was however, emphatic about this concept of celibacy. He was also clear thal anyone who was to go in for service, take to the way of non-violence, ought to accept this vow of *brahmcharya*, total *brahmcharya*, if possible, but at least this variety of *brahmcharya*, even in marriage. This was one of the major rules of conduct for the inmates of his *ashram*, and on this there could be no two opinions. But the ashramites always betrayed him and his foolisn rules.

Gandhi was tempted only a few times in his life, in respect of women other than his wife. First time, it was a school friend, who led him into temptation : He writs this:

"The same company would have led me into faithlessness to my wife. But I was saved by the skin of my teeth. My friend once took me to a brothel. He sent me in with the necessary instructions. It was all prearranged. The bill had already been paid. I went into the jaws of sin, but God in His infinite mercy protected me against myself. I was almost struck blind and dumb in this den of vice. I sat near the woman on her bed, but I was tongue-tied. She naturally lost patience with me, and showed me the door, with abuses and insults. I then felt as though my manhood had been injured, and wished to sink into the ground for shame. But I have ever since given thanks to God for having saved me. I can recall four more similar incidents in my life, and in most of them my good fortune, rather than any effort on my part, saved me. From a strictly ethical point of view, all these occasions must be regarded as moral lapses; for the carnal desire was there, and it was as good as the act. But from the ordinary point of view, a man who is saved from physically committing sin is regarded as saved. And I was saved only in that sense. There are some actions from which an escape is a godsend both for the man who escapes and for those about him. Man, as soon as he gets back his consciousness of right, is thankful of the Divine mercy for the escape. As we know that a man often succumbs to temptation, however much he may resist it, we also know that Providence often intercedes and saves him in spite of himself. How all this happens—how far a man is free and how far a creature of circumstances,—how far free-will comes into play and where fate enters on the scene,—all this is a mystery and will remain a mystery."

In England, too, a near-lapse occurred. Gandhi narrates this also in detail:

"During the last year, as far as I can remember, of my stay in

England, that is in 1890, there was a Vegetarian Conference at Portsmouth to which an Indian friend and I were invited. Portsmouth is a sea-port with a large naval population. It has many houses with women of ill fame, women not actually prostitutes, but at the same time, not very scrupulous about their morals. We were put up in one of these houses. Needless to say, the Reception Committee did not know anything about it. It would have been difficult in a town like Portsmouth to find out which were good lodgings and which were bad for occasional travellers like us.

We returned from the Conference in the evening. After dinner we sat down to play a rubber of bridge, in which our landlady joined, as is customary in England even in respectable households. Every player indulges in innocent jokes as a matter of course, but here my companion and our hostess began to make indecent ones as well. I did not know that my friend was an adept in the art. It captured me and I also joined in. Just when I was about to go beyond the limit, leaving the cards and the game to themselves, God, through the good companion, uttered the blessed warning: 'Whence this devil in you, my boy? Be off, quick!'

I was ashamed. I took the warning and expressed within myself gratefulness to my friend. Remembering the vow I had taken before my mother, I fled from the scene. To my room I went quaking, trembling, and with beating heart, like a quarry escaped from its pursuer.

I recall this as the first occasion on which a woman other than my wife, moved me to lust. I passed that night sleeplessly, all kinds of thoughts assailing me. Should I leave this house? Should I run away from the place? Where was I? What would happen to me if I had not my wits about me? I decided to act thenceforth with great caution; not to leave the house, but somehow leave Portsmouth. The Conference was not to go on for more than two days, and I remember I left Portsmouth the next evening, my companien staying there some time longer. I did not then know the essence of religion or of God, and how He works in us. Only vaguely I understood that God had saved me on that occasion. On all occasions of trial He has saved me."

Gandhi was taken by his ship's Captain to the quarters of women of ill-fame, at Zanzibar. He describes this event and records how God saved him:

"The Captain liked me much but the liking took an undesirable turn. He invited an English friend and me to accompany him on an outing, and we all went ashore in his boat. I had not the least notion of what the outing meant. And little did the Captain know what an ignoramus I was in such matters. We were taken to some Negro woman's quarters by a tout. We were each shown into a room. I simply stood there dumb with shame. Heaven only knows what the poor woman must have thought of me. When the Captain called me I came out just as I had gone in. He saw my innocence. At first I felt very much ashamed, but as I could not think of the thing except with horror, the sense of shame wore away, and

I thanked God that the sight of the woman had not moved me in the least. I was disgusted at my weakness and pitied myself for not having had the courage to refuse to go into the room.

This in my life was the third final of its kind. Many a youth, innocent at first, must have been drawn into sin by a false sense of shame. I could claim no credit for having come out unscathed. I could have credit if I had refused to enter that room. I must entirely thank the All-merciful for having saved me. The incident increased my faith in God and taught me, to a certain extent, to cast off false shame."

The roots of desire go deep. They did even in the case of Gandhi. At the age of 73 Gandhi is writing this:

"I took the vow of *Brahmacharya* in 1906. In other words, my effort to become a perfect *Brahmachari* started 36 years ago. I cannot say I have attained the full *Brahmacharya* of my definition; but in my opinion, I have made substantial progress towards it. If God wills it, I might attain even perfection in this life. Any-way, there is no relaxation of effort, nor is there any despondence in me. I do not consider thirty-six years too long a period for the effort. The richer the prize, the richer must the effort be. Meanwhile, my ideas regarding necessity for *Brahmacharya* have become stronger. Some of my experiments have not reached a stage when they might be placed before the public with advantage. I hope to do so some day if they succeed to my satisfaction. Success might make the attainment of *Brahmacharya* comparatively easier.

"But the *Brahmacharya* on which I wish to lay emphasis in this chapter is limited to the conservation of sexual secretions. The glorious fruit of perfect *Brahmacharya* is not to be had from the observance of this limited *Brahmacharya*. But no one can reach the perfect *Brahmacharya* without reaching the limited variety.

"And maintenance of perfect health should be considered almost an utter impossibility without *Brahmacharya* leading to the conservation of the sexual secretions. To countenance wastage of a secretion which has the power of creating another human being is, to say the least, an indication of gross ignorance. I do not claim to have completely eradicated the sex feeling in me. But it is my claim that I can keep it under control."

Such is the story of Gandhi's development in this respect. Many people will consider it rather funny that this man should have been, for sixty years, from the age of 10 to the age of 73, so concerned with all this, and, in the process, made so much fuss about chastity. To him, however, it was, in the true tradition of the *Vedic rishis*, a value of values:

"Brahmacharya means control of the senses in thought, word and deed. Every day I have been realizing more and more the necessity for restraints of the kind I have detailed above. There is no limit to the possibilities of renunciation even as there is none to those of *brahmacharya*. Such *brahmacharya* is impossible of attainment by limited effort. For many it must remain only as an ideal. An aspirant after *brahmacharya* will always be conscious of his shortcomings, will seek out the passions lingering in the innermost recesses of his heart and will incessantly strive to get rid of them. So long as thought is not under complete control of the will, *bramacharya* in its fulness is absent. Involuntary thought is an affection of the mind, and curbing of thought, therefore, means curbing of the mind which is even more difficult to curb than the wind. Nevertheless, the existence of God within makes even control of the mind possible. Let no one think that it is impossible because it is difficult. It is the highest goal, and it is no wonder that the highest effort should be necessasy to attain it."

The most interesting corollary of the above is Gandhi's view about birth-control. He was emphatic that modern methods of contraceptives were sinful as well as criminal. A way is not to be avoided because it is difficult, upward and uphill. Man's upward progress necessarily means ever-increasing difficulty, which is to be welcomed. On this point Gandhi again said:

"This little globe of ours is not a toy of yesterday. It has not suffered from the weight of over-population through its age of countless millions. How can it be that the truth has suddenly dawned upon some people that it is in danger of perishing of shortage of food unless the birthrate is checked through the use of contraceptives?"

Again:

"It is dinned into one's ears that the gratification of the sex urge is a solemn obligation like the obligation of discharging debts . . . and not to do so would involve the penalty of intellectual decay. This sex urge has been isolated from the desire for progeny and it is said by the protagonists of the use of contraceptives that conception is an accident to be prevented except when the parties wish to have children. I venture to suggest that this is a most dangerous doctrine to preach anywhere, much more so in a country like India . . . Marriage loses its sanctity when its purpose and highest use is conceived to be the satisfaction of the animal passion without contemplating the natural result of such satisfaction."

And attitude of 'sacks for Jacks' and 'pills for Jills', would be horrible from the Gandhian point of view.

The Government and the people of India have now, vigorously begun to advocate birth-control through all means. We are betraying Gandhi, Father of the Nation.

Who is right, Gandhi or his disciples? The answer of the government as well as the average citizen is that moral restraint is possible for *mahatmas* and not for everybody. Gandhi dose not accept excuses of that kind. He considered himself an ordinary person who had been striving consciously and continuously to cultivate the cardinal virtues, which he counted celibacy, and his view would be that what one man could achieve others can if only others would. But would they, and, even, should they?

The people of India have gone astray. They are betraying the culture of their country. If they betrayed India in Vedic and post-vedic times, they betrayed her during the Muslim period of Indian History. They betrayed India during the British Rule. They are betrayidg their motherland even today. Perhaps betrayal is in the blood of the Indians.

To quote Aurobindo:

"There is a creed in India today which calls itself Nationalism, a creed which has come to you from Bengal. This is a creed which many of you have accepted when you called yourselves Nationalists. Have you realized, have you yet realized what that means? Have you realized what it is that you have taken in hand? Or is it that you have merely accepted it in the pride of a superior intellectual conviction? You call yourselves Nationalists. What is Nationalism? Nationalism is not a mere political program; Nationalism is a religion that has come from God; Nationalism is a creed which you shall have to live. Let no man dare to call himself a Nationalist if he does so merely with a sort of intellectual pride, thinking that he is more patriotic thinking that he is something higher than those who do call themselves by that name. If you are going to be a Nationalist, if you are going to assent to this religion of Nationalism, you mus do it the religious spirit. You must remember that you are the instruments of God. What is this that has happened in Bengal? You call yourselves Nationalists, but when this happens to you, what will you do? This thing is happening daily in Bengal, because, in Bengal, Nationalism has come to the people as a religion, and it has been accepted as a religion. But certain forces which are against that religion are trying to crush its rising strength. It always happens when a new religion is preached, when God is going to be born in the people, that such forces rise with all their weapons in their hands to crush the religion. In Bengal too a new religion, a religion divine and *sattwic* has been preached, and this religion, they are trying with all the weapons at their command to crush. By what strength are we in Bengal able to survive? Nationalism is not going to be crushed. Nationalism survives in the strength of God and it is not possible to crush it, whatever weapons are brought against it. Nationalism is immortal; Nationalism cannot die; because it is no human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to jail. When these things happen among you, I say to you solemnly, what will you do? Will you do as they do in Bengal? (Cries of 'Yes'). Don't lightly say 'yes'. It is a solemn thing; and suppose that God puts you this question, how will you answer it? Have you got a real faith? Or is it merely a political aspiration? Is it merely a larger kind of selfishness? Or is it merely that you wish to be free to oppress others, as you are being oppressed? Do you hold your political creed from a higher source? Is it God that is born in you? Have you realized that you are merely the the instruments of God, that your bodies are not your own; You are merely instruments of God for the work of the Almighty? Have you relized that If you have realized that, then you are truly Nationalists; then alone will you be able to restore this great nation. In Bengal it has been realized clearly by some, more clearly by others, but it has been realized and you on this side of the country must also realize it. Then there will be a blessing on our work, and this great nation will rise again and become once more what it was in the days of its spiritual greatness".

Filled with a matchless love for the motherland, great sons and daughters of India spoke out their heart in words of sheer beauty and golden content, Listen, for instance, to Brahmabandhav Upadhya:

"I swear by the moon and the sun that I have heard in my heart of hearts this message of freedom. As the tree in winter gets a new life with the touch of the breeze of spring, as you feel joy at the return of love, as the heart of a hero dances to the call of the trumpet of war, so a feeling has throbbed in my heart.

"But independence will mean both freedom from our slave complex and freedom from gerrymandering politics.

"With the spread of English rule and culture, India lost her own ideal of civilization. Our educated classes think as they have been taught by their Firingi masters. Our minds have been conquered. We have become slaves. The faith in our own culture and the love for things Indian are gone. India will reach *Swaraj* the day she will again have a faith in herself. Ramakrishna had gone in that line. So did Bankim. So did Vivekanada. The whole mass of our people must now be made to appreciate things Indian and to return to our ancient way. That is *Swadesh* as opposed to *Bidesh*.

"I see the fort of *Swaraj* built in various places. There shall be no connection with the foreigner. These forts will be purified by the incense of sacrifice, resounding with the cry of victory, filled to overflowing with corn and grain . . .

"We have said over and over again that we are not *Swadeshi* only so far as salt and sugar are concerned. Our aspirations are higher than the Himalays. Our pain is as intense as if we had a volcano in us. What we want is the emancipation of India. Our aim is that India may be free, that the stranger may be driven from our homes, that the continuity of the learning, the civilization and the system of the *rishis* may be preserved. We have often heard the voice from heaven: Selfish men! We have not entered the lists to play the *mudi* (grocer).

"First free the Mother from her bondage, then seek your own deliverance. The fire of desire has been kindled within our bosom. We do not know whence. Heaven we do not want. Deliverance we seek not O Mother! let us be born again and again in India till your chains fall off. Fast let the Mother be free, and then shall come our own release from the worldly bonds. This is no mere child's play. O Feringi (*sic*), here I am with my neck out stretched—offer it up as a sacrifice. You will see, I shall again be born in the land of Bengal and shall cause much more serious confusion. Can you intimidate us! Our power is more than human. It is divine. We have heard the voice telling us that the period of India's suffering is about to close, that the day of her deliverance is near at hand. It is because we have heard the voice that we have left our forest-home and came to town. Your overweening pride is due to your possessing a few cannon and guns. We have all the advantages of the ancient greatness of India on our side. We are immortal. If you are wise, you should help towards the attainment of deliverance of India. Outherwise, come let us descend into the arena of war. We hereby summon you to battle. See what a mighty contest presently begins all over the country. The sons of the Mother are preparing themselves. All the arms—fiery (*Agneya*), watery (*Varuna*), airy (*Vayavya*) — in her vaults, are being polished. Hark, the flapping of the fourfold arms of the Mother ? Are we afraid of your cannon and guns ? Arm brothers, arm ! The day of deliverance is near. We have heord the voice and we cannot fail to see the chains of India removed before we die. It is now too late to recede."

Let me quote the beautiful words of Mr. Kanwarlal from his book *Good bye Mr. Gandhi* quote In this vast universe, of the vastness whereof Man has now begun to have an actual glimpse in place of the earlier intellectual concepts or poetic conceits, what do a hundred thousand square kilometres matter? Do we not know that our planet, this earth, is no more than a pea-nut in the solar system? And that the sun, of which our earth is but a bit, is itself an average unit in a galaxy containing countless such, and larger suns, the galaxy itself being merely one of countless such galaxies? To allow oneself to be wholly involved with a piece of this planet on which one accidentally got born, is, to say the least, an undervaluation of oneself, especially when, in the same breath, one likes to think of one's self as part of the Self. The Hindu believes that, birth after birth, life is a matter of the individual's past deeds and their reward, so that what he has come to the earth for is to work off their effect and avoid, if he can, continuation of the series of births to which he has been subjected. For him, then, the question of involvement, even with the next of kin, does not arise. To start thinking in terms of the country—or the world—is to accumulate avoidable debts for future lives.

"Again, the country is an abstraction, which does not fully convey the idea of the sum total of innumerable little universes representing the people who inhabit it. If we think in geographical terms, or in the historical context, the thing is still more meaningless. Boundaries change because of some political decision and people change over to another 'country'. One shifts physically, labels change but can one change one's mentality, shift one's allegiance, with equal ease? Think of the people who belonged yesterday to the part which was India but is now Pakistan, and of those who shifted there. And imagine how utterly senseless they must have found the whole situation."

Max Muller says: "If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India; and if I were to ask myself from what literature we here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human—a life not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India."

Bishop Heber says: "So far as their natural character is concerned, I have been led to form on the whole a very favourable opinion. They are men of high and gallant courage, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement. . . . . . They are sober, industrious, dutiful to their parents, and affectionate to their children; of tempers almost uniformly gentle and patient, and more easily affected by kindness and attention to their wants and feelings than almost any men whom I have met with".

Sir Thomas Munro says: "I do not exactly know what is meant by civilizing the people of India. In the theory and practice of good government they may be deficient, but if a good system of agriculture, if unrivalled manufacture, if a capacity to produce what convenience and luxury demand, if the establishment of schools for reading and writing, if the general practice of kindness and hospitability, and above all, if a scrupulous respect and delicacy towards the female sex, are amongst the points that denote a civilized people, then the Hindus are not inferior in civilization to the people of Europe."

Sir C.Trevelyan says about the Indians : "They have very considerable administrative qualities, great patience, great industry, and great acuteness and intelligence."

Louis Jacolliot hails India again and again with his following words: "Soil of ancient India, cradle of humanity hail! Hail, venerable, and efficient nurse, whom centuries of brutal invasions have not yet buried under the dust of oblivion. Hail, fatherland of faith, of love, of poetry, and of science! May we hail a revival of the past in our Western future!"

Gandhi stayed to the end of his life, rather smug and satisfied, in respect of India's Culture:

"Everything in India attracts me. It has everything that a human being with the highest aspirations can want."

And why he believed that, though "European civilization is no doubt suited for the Europeans, it will mean ruin for India if we endeavour to copy it." And today Indians are Copying Europeans.

Our teeming millions were wedded to the creed of freedom we were determined to make the country free. With such zeal, it was obvious that, whether it would take short or long and, whether it became that with grace or without it, India would be free.

The freedom, therefore, was taken for granted. The differences arose as to the means to attain this freedom and, when it came, what kind of values and ideals India was to accept for its own pattern of living. When Gandhi appeared on the scene, the conflict and collision of ideology with ideology became inevitable. Gandhi was all for 'truth and non-violence',

As regards India of Gandhi's dreams, he once summed it up in the following famous passage, published in *Young India,* in September, 1931: "I shall strive for a constitution, which will release India from all thraldom and patronage, and give her, if need be, the right to sin. I shall work for an India, in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of the intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men. . . Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting, nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable. All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected, whether foreign or indigenous. Personally, I hate distinction between foreign and indigenous. This is the India of my dreams. . . I shall be satisfied with nothing else."

Tagore, for instance, sang of it as follows:

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high; where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the deary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into everwidening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."

Gandhi's first elaborate sketch of his views was made in *Hind Swaraj,* and, in a letter to Nehru written in October, 1945, we find him maintaining the same stand essentially. He drew the picture afresh:

"I am convinced that if India is to attain true freedom and through India the world also, then sooner or later the fact must be recognised that people will have to live in villages, not in towns, in huts, not in palaces. Crores of people will never be able to live at peace with each other in towns and palaces. They will then have no recourse but to resort to both violence and untruth. I hold that without truth and non-violence there can be nothing but destruction for humanity. We can realise truth and non-violence only in the simplicity of village life and this simplicity can best be found in the *Charkha* and all that *Charkha* connotes. I must not fear if the world today is going the wrong way.

It may be that India too will go that way and like the proverbial moth burn itself eventually in the flame round which it dances more and more furiously. But it is my bounden duty up to my last breath to try to protect India and through India the entire world from such a doom. The essence of what I have said is that man should rest content with what are his real needs and become self-sufficient. If he does not have this control he cannot save himself. After all the world is made up of individuals just as it is the drops that constitute the ocean. I have said nothing new. This is a well-known truth

But I do not think I have stated this in *Hind Swaraj.* While I admire modern science, I find that it is the old looked at in the true light of modern science which should be reclothed and refashioned aright. You must not imagine that I am envisaging our village life as it is today. The village of my dreams is still in my mind. After all every man lives in the world of his dreams. My ideal village will contain intelligent human beings. They will not live in dirt and darkness as animals. Men and women will be free and able to hold their own against any one in the world. There will be neither plague, nor cholera nor small pox; no one will be idle, no one will wallow in luxury. Everyone will have to contribute his quota of manual labour. I do not want to draw a large scale picture in detail. It is possible to envisage railways, post and telegraph offices, etc. For me it is material to obtain the real article and the rest will fit into the picture afterwards. If I let go the real thing, all else goes."

Gandhi was emphatic that India must not take to the way of the sword:

"If India takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory. Then India will cease to be the pride of my heart. I am wedded to India because I owe my all to her. I believe absolutely that she has a mission for all the world. She is not to copy Europe blindly. India's acceptance of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. My life is dedicated to service of India though the religion of non-violence."

Gandhi was against Industrialization:

"I do not believe that Industrialization is necessary in any case for any country. It is much less so for India. Indeed, I believe that Independent India can only discharge her duty towards a groaning world by adopting a simple but ennobled life by developing her thousands of cottages and living at peace with the world. High thinking is inconsistent with complicated material life based on high speed imposed on us by Mammon worship. All the graces of life are possible only when we learn the art of living nobly."

Though machinery might be used, its uses had to be kept to the minimum necessary:

"I refuse to be dazzled by the seeming triumph of machinery. I am uncompromisingly against all destructive machinery. But simple tools and instruments and such machinery as saves individual labour and lightens the burden of the millions of cottages, I should welcome."

Machinery was sure to ruin the villagers, and would breed Capitalism:

"Dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages of India. Machinery to be well used has to help and ease human effort. The present use of machinery tends more and more to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few in total disregard of millions of men and women whose bread is snatched by it out of their mouths."

"There would be no drinking, nor smoking nor gambling in the land." He advocated prohibition, for drinking was not only a sin but a crime :

"I hold drinking spirituous liquors in India to be more criminal than the petty thefts which I see starving men and women committing and for which they are prosecuted and punished. I do tolerate very unwillingly it is true and helpless because of want of full realisation of the law of love, a moderate system of penal code. And so long as I do, I must advocate the summary punishing of those who manufacture the fiery liquid and those even who will persist in drinking it notwithstanding repeated warnings. I do not hesitate forcibly to prevent my children from rushing into fire or deep waters. Rushing to red water is far more dangerous than rushing to a raging furnace or flooded stream. The latter destroys only the body, the former destroys both body and soul."

As for smoking :

"Of all the abuses to which my name has been put, I know nothing so humiliating to me as the deliberate association of my name with cigarettes. A friend has sent me a label purporting to bear my portrait. The cigarettes are called 'Mahatma Gandhi' cigarettes. Now I have a horror of smoking as I have of mines. Smoking, I consider, to be a vice. It deadens one's conscience and is often worse than drink in that it acts imperceptibly. It is a habit which is difficult to get rid of when once it seizes hold of a person. It is an expensive vice. It fouls the breath, discolours the teeth and sometimes even causes cancer. It is an unclean habit. No man has received my permission to associate my name with cigarettes."

And Gambling, especially betting in races :

"I know nothing of horse-racing. I have ever looked upon it with horror for its associations. I know that many men have been ruined on the race-course.

"But I must confess I have not had the courage to write anything against it. Having seen even an Aga Khan, prelates, viceroys, and those that are considered the best in the land, openly patronizing it and spending thousands upon it, I have felt it to be useless to write about it...

"But betting is, I apprehend, more difficult to deal with than drinking. When vice becomes a fashion and even a virtue, it is a long process to deal with it. Betting is not only fashionable but is hardly regarded as a vice. Not so drinking. Fortunately it is still the fashion to consider drinking a weakness, if not positively a vice. Every religion has denounced it with more or less vehemence. But betting has escaped such special attention. Let us hope, however, that the vigilant public will find a more innocent recreation than attending the race-course, and thus show its disapproval of gambling at the race-course."

And, according to the *Manusmriti* : "Gambling and betting are indeded as daylight robbery; and the ruler should endeavour diligently to eradicate them."

"Money worship will go and people will not spend extravagantly on marriages, feasts and other follies:

"In India it must be held to be a crime to spend money on dinner and marriage parties . . . and other luxuries so long as millions of people are starving. We would not have a feast in a family if a member was about to die of starvation. If India is one family, we should have the same feeling as we would have in a private family."

There will be economic equality as he used to say thus "Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand, and a levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other. A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor, labouring class cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good. I adhere to my doctrine of trusteeship in spite of the ridicule that has been poured upon it. It is true that it is difficult to reach. So is non-violence difficult to attain. But we made up our minds in 1920 to negotiate that steep ascent.

"Let no one try to justify the glaring difference between the classes and the masses, the prince and the pauper, by saying that the former need more. That will be idle spohistry and a travesty of my argument," he continued. "The contrast between the rich and the poor today is a painful sight. The poor villagers are exploited by the foreign government and also by their own countrymen—the city-dwellers. They produce the food and go hungry. They produce milk and their children have to go without it. It is disgraceful. Everyone must have a balanced diet, a decent house to live in, facilities for the education of one's children and adequate medical relief."

"The ministers and the government will not spend recklessly." He spoke of this at a prayer meeting:

"I have received complaints about the high salaries of the civil servants. The Civil Service could not be done away with all of a sudden. Their number has already been reduced, with the result that those remaining have to work harder. The Sardar had, therefore, congratulated them on their work. I did not grudge credit where it is deserved, but I can not help nothing that they draw salaries which before Independence the Congress had considered too much. The real Civil Service are the people. After all, Congressmen have been working without any salaries in the past. If a Congressman becomes a parliamentary secretary today, why should he be paid a high salary? I do not know that parliamentary secretaries are needed. The Congress party must be chary of imposing more paid secretaries on the Government. It would be wrong to tone down the high standard the Congress has set before the country. Greater care is necessary in that they have now crores at their disposal. It would be imprudent to let the expenditure go up when the income remaines stationary. Every business firm has to see that the credit side is larger than the debit side. Can they run the business of free India by ignoring this basic fact? They have some money today and they can squnder it in any way they like. But it would not last long unless they act like wise businessmen."

"Population will be controlled, if need be, through self-control and both the unmarried as well as the married will practise chastity.

"Sex urge is a fine and noble thing. There is nothing to be ashamed of in it. But it is meant only for the act of creation. Any other use of it is a sin against God and humanity."

"Artiffcial methods are like putting premium upon vice. They make man reckless. And respectability that is being given to the methods must hasten the dissolution of the restraints that public opinion puts upon one. Adoption of artificial methods must result in imbecility and nervous prostration. The remedy will be found to be worse than the disease.

"Government will not impose 'controls' in the country. I feet that it is criminal to have controls. The control system might have been good during war time. It might be good also for a military nation. It is harmful for India. I am sure that there is no scarcity of food-stuffs or cloth in the land. Rains have not failed them. They have enough cotton in the land and enough hands to work at the spinning wheel and the loom. Moreover, they have mills. I feel, therefore, that the two controls are bad. There are other controls too as for instance on petroleum, suger etc. I could see no justification for them. They tend to make people lazy and dependent. Laziness and dependence are any day bad for the nation. I have daily complaints about these controls. I hope that the nation's representatives would come to a wise decision and advise the Government to remove these controls which promot corruption, hypocrisy and blackmarketing."

"India will have an army and navy but little military expenditure. Our statesmen have for over two generations declaimed against the heavy expenditure on armaments uuder the British regime, but now that freedom from political serfdom has come, our military expenditure has increased and still threatens to increase and of this we are proud! There is not a voice raised against it in our legislative chambers. In spite, however, of the madness and the vain imitation of the tinsel of the West, the hope lingers in me and many others that India shall survive this death dance and occupy the moral height that should belong to her after the training, however imperfect, in non-violence for an unbroken period of thirty-two years since 1915."

"I do not know of the navy but I do know that the army of India of the future will not consist of hirelings to be utilized for keeping India under subjection and for depriving other nations of their liberty, but it would be largely cut down, will consist largely of volunteers and will be utilized for policing India."

"The dowry system has to go. Marriage must cease to be a matter of arrangement made by the parents for money. The system is intimately connected with caste. So long as the choice is restricted to a few hundred young men or young women of a particular caste, the system will persist no matter what is said against it. The girls or boys or their parents will have to break the bonds of caste if the evil is to be eradicated. All this means education of a character that will revolutionise the mentality of youth of the nation.

"Any young man who makes dowry a condition of marriage discredits his education and his country and dishonours womanhood. A strong public opinion should be created in condemnation of the degrading practice of dowry and young men who soil their fingers with such ill-gotten gold should be ex-communicated from society. Parents of girls should cease to be dazzled by English degrees, should not hesitate to travel outside their little castes and provinces to secure true, gallant young men for their daughters. India will believe not in foreign aid, but self-help.' When there was food-crisis in 1947, he said:

"The first lesson we must learn is of self-help and self-reliance. If we assimilate this lesson, we shall at once free ourselves from disastrous dependence upon foreign countries and ultimate bankruptcy. This is not said in arrogance but as a matter of fact. We are not a small place, dependent for its food supply upon outside help. We are a sub-continent, nation of a nearly 400 millions. We are a country of mighty rivers and and a rich variety of agricultural land, with inexhaustible cattle-wealth. That our cattle give much less milk than we need is entirely our own fault. Our cattle-wealth is any day capable of giving us all the milk we need. Our country, if it had not been neglected during the past few centuries, should today not only be providing herself with sufficient food, she would also be playing a useful role in suppling the outside world with much needed foodstuffs of which the late war has unfortunately left practically the whole world in want. This does not exclude India. The distress is growing instead of showing signs of decreasing. My suggestion does not include ungrateful rejection of free supply that any foreign country may wish to offer us. All I say is that we must not go a-begging. It demoralizes."

"English language will be discarded, for it was a curse to have this foreign medium, and *Hindustani* will become the national language English will be erased for ever." It is a matter of deep humiliation and shame for us that I am compelled this evening under the shadow of this great college, in this sacred city to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me.

"The base imitation of the ability to speak and write polished English, will not add one brick to the temple of freedom. The student world which is receiving an education far too expensive for starving India, an education which only a microscopic minority can ever hope to receive, is expected to qualify itself for it by giving its life-blood to the nation. Students must become pioneers in conservative reform, conserving all that is good in the nation and fearlessly ridding society of the innumerable abuses that have crept into it."

"The national dress...is the most natural and the most becoming for an Indian. I believe that our copying of the European dress is a sign of our degradation, humiliation and our weakness, and that we are committing a national sin in discarding a dress which is best suited to the Indian climate and which, for its simplicity, art and cheapness, is not to be beaten on the face of the earth and which answers hygienic requirements.

Educated India has erred in taking to (in this climate) unnecessary, unhygienic, inelegant trousers and betraying general hesitation to take up the sola hat. But I know that national likes and dislikes are not governed by reason."

He took note even of seemingly small matters—like, for instance the jails of Free India, and ticketless-travelling. About jails we learn:

"What should the jails be like in free India? I have long held the opinion that all criminals should be treated as patients and the jails should be hospitals admitting this class of patients for treatment and cure. No one commits crime for the fun of it. It is a sign of a diseased mind. The causes of a particular disease should be investigated and removed. They need not have palatial buildings when their jails became hospitals. No country could efford that, much less could a poor country like India. But the outlook of the jail staff should be that of physicians and nurses in a hospital. The prisoners should feel that the officials are their friends. They are there to help them to regain their mental health and not to harass them in any way. The popular governments have to issue necessary orders, but meanwhile the jail staff could do a little to humanize their administration."

If Gandhi comes to the Indian jails today, he will shed 'rivers of tears' because innocent people are sent to the jails and the jail staff do not follow the law.

On 14th January, 1947, just a few days before his death when he had undertaken a fast to restore communal peace in Delhi, he spoke from the anguish of his heart of one dream which had always been there:

"Before I ever knew anything of politics in my early youth, I dreamt the dream of communal unity of the heart. I shall jump in the evening of my life, like a child, to feel that the dream has been realized in this life. The wish for living the full span of life, portrayed by the seers of old and which they permit us to set down at 125 years, will then revive. Who would not risk sacrificing his life for the realization of such a dream? Then we shall have real *Swaraj.* Thus, though legally and geographically we may still be two States, in daily life no one will think that we were separte States. The vista before me seems to me to be, as it must be to you, too glorious to be true. Yet like a child in a famous picture, drawn by a famous painter, I shall not be happy till I have got it. I live and want to live for no lesser goal. Let the seekers from Pakistan help me to come as near the goal as it is humanly possible. A goal ceases to be one, when it is reached. The nearest approach is always possible. What I have said holds good irrespective of whether others do it or not. It is open to every individual to purify himself or herself so as to render him or her fit for that land of promise. I remember to have read, I forget whether in the Delhi Fort or the Agra Fort, when I visited them in 1896, a verse on one of the gates, which when translated reads: 'If there is paradise on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here.' That Fort with all its magnificence at its best, was no paradise in my estimation. But I should love to see that verse with justice inscribed on the gates of Pakistan at all the entrances. In such paradise, whether it is in the Union or in Pakistan, there will be neither paupers nor beggars; nor high nor low, neither millionaire employers nor half-starved employees, nor intoxicating drinks or drugs. There will be the same respect for women as vouchsafed to men and the chastity and purity of men and women will be zealously guarded. Where every woman except one's wife, will be treated by men of all religions, as mother, sister or daughter according to her age. Where there will be no untouchability and where there will be equal respect for all faiths. They will be all proudly, joyously and voluntarily bread labourers. I hope everyone who listens to me or reads lines will forgive me if stretched on my bed and basking in the sun, inhaling life giving sunshine, I allow myself to indulge in this ecstasy."

And in almost his last words he willed that the Congress be wound up; and drafted a resolution to the effect:

"Though split into two, India having attained political Independance through means provided by the Indian National Congress, the Congress in its present shape and form, *i.e.*, as a porpaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine, has outlived its use. India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its seven hundred thousand villages as distinguished from its cities and towns. The struggle for the ascendency of civil over military power is bound to take place in India's progress towards its democratic goal. It must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies. For these and other similar reasons, the A.I.C.C. resolves to disband the existing Congress organization and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh."

Under the strain of the unforessen, with all his pity for such colossal suffering, and frustration in such colossal measure, everything was going to bits. Why was he forgetting what he had said about the Congress six years earlier? To quote:

"Some Congresmen are sorry because I have relinquished the leadership of the Congress. You have not lost me. You would lose me, only if I ceased to be loyal to the Congress, only if I ceased to be a practical man. It is not at Bardoli that I left the Congress. I did so seven years ago at Bombay, and I did so in order to be able to render greater service to the country and the Congress. My colleagues like the Sardar and Rajendra Babu are not happy over the resolution, but I am asking them not to leave the Working Committee. But even if they leave the Congress, the Congress is not going to cease to function. Its work will go on, whether they are there or not. No man, however great, is indispensable to it. Those who built up the Congress like Dadabhai, Pherozeshah and Tilak are no more, but the Congress still functions. For, they have left for us an edifice to work upon and expand. And if the passing away of these leaders has not made any difference, why should the withdrawal of other leaders make any?"

Gandhi's view that India was and the Congress was not was correct May be, he feared that after him, with this Congress, it would be the deluge. Only he could have explained what was really in his mind. But, then, within hours, he was shot dead, leaving it to others to build the India of his dreams, if they would.

Of these, the foremost was Jawaharlal Nehru. If Gandhi had been God's chosen instrument to lead India so far, Nehru was Gandhi's chosen instrument for continuing the great task:

"I have said for some years and say now that not Rajaji but Jawahar lal will be my successor. He says that he does not understand my language, and that he speaks a language foreign to me. This may or may not be true. But language is no bar to a union of hearts. And I know this that when I am gone he will speak my language."

Jawaharlal Nehru came to stay among us as the Prime Minister of India. I can say with confidence that it was he and he alone who betrayed Mahatma Gandhi). In the following pages we shall come to know how he betrayed India although he never intended to do so. Jawaharlal Nehru's betrayal of India was rather a derailment of Gandhian policies. This was brought about by the Yankees who poured tons of American gold in India with a view to have an economic control over our people.

We read in Gandhi's *Autobiography* that there was disagreement in respect of humility being included as one of the virtues to be cultivated at the *Satyargrah Ashram* which was being founded at Ahmedabad, rules were framed. The whole thing is interesting, and affords a valuable peep into Gandhi's mind:

"The first thing we had to settle was the name of the *Ashram*. I consulted friends. Amongst the names suggested were *Sevashram* (the abode of service); '*Tapovan*' seemed to be a pretentious title, because though *tapas* was dear to us we could not presume to be *tapasvins* (men of austerity). Our creed was devotion to truth, and our business was the search for and insistence on truth. I wanted to acqaint India with the method I had tried in South Africa, and I desired to test in India the extent to which its application might be possible. So my companions and I selected the name *Satyagraha Ashram*, as conveying both our goal and our method of service.

For the conduct of the *Ashram* a code of rules and observances was necessary. A draft was therefore prepared, and friends were invited to express their opinions on it. Amongst the many opinions that were received, that of Sir Gurdas Banerji is still in my memory. He liked the rules, but suggested that humility should be added as one of the observances, as he believed that the younger generation sadly lacked humility. Though I noticed this fault, I feared humility would cease to be humility the moment it became a matter of vow. The true connotation of humility is self-effacement. Self-effacement is *moksha* (salvation), and whilst it cannot, by itself, be an observance, there may be other observances necessary for attainment. If the acts of an aspirant after *mokhsha* or a servant have no humility or selflessness about them, there is no longing for *mokhsha* or service. Service without humility is selfishness and egotism."

"True' Humility' 'true' truthfulness may be based on Truth alone but humility and truthfulness can be concocted also as a false means to secure a desired end. Those who were or are truthful do not go about cultivating truthfulness. We hear of no experiments with Truth so far as Yudhishthar was concerned, or Harish Chandra or Prahlad. They just were truthful. He who is truthful does not go about trying to be truthful, consciously and deliberately.

Gandhi referred to the virtue of humility frequently and often emphasised his own humility. He regarded himself as a humble seeker of truth, a humble servant of India and through India, of humanity, and a humble instrument of God. "I lay claim to nothing exclusively divine in me. I do not claim prophetship. I am but a humble seeker after Truth and bent upon finding it. I count no sacrifice too great for seeing God face to face. The whole of my activity whether it may be called social, political, humanitarian or ethical is directed to that end. And as I know that God is found more often in the lowliest of His creatures than in the high and mighty, I am struggling to reach the status of these. I cannot do so without their service. Hence my passion for the service of the suppressed classes. And as I cannot render this service without entering politics, I find myself in them. Thus I am no master, I am but a struggling, erring, humble servant of India and, there-through, of humanity."

And again, defining true humility he says thus:

"To feel that we are something is to set up a barrier between God and ourselves; to cease feeling that we are something is to become one with God. A drop in the ocean partakes of the greatness of its parent, although it is unconscious of it. But it is dried up as soon as it enters upon an existence independent of the ocean.

"A life of service must be one of humility. He, who could sacrifice his life for others, has hardly time to reserve for himself a place in the sun. Inertia must not be mistaken for humility, as it has been in Hinduism. True humility means most strenuous and constant endeavour entirely directed towards the service of humanity. God is continuously in action without resting for a single moment. If we would serve Him or become one with Him, our activity must be a unwearied as His."

Gandhi claimed no divine revelation: "I have no special revelation of God's will. My firm belief is that He reveals Himself daily to every human being but we shut our ears to 'the still small voice'. We shut our eyes to the Pillar of Fire in front of us. I realize His omnipresence."

He had nothing new to teach—"I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and Non-violence are as old as the hills"—and moved from truth to truth, step by step: "I do not want to foresee the future. I am concerned with taking care of the present. God has given me no control over the moment following."

He vehemently objected to Mahatmaship: "The scene in Serajganj Conference over attaching '*Mahatma*' to my name has caused deep pain to me. Those who out of their infatuation for the application of title '*Mahatma*' to me either howled down the gentleman who would not use the name or who implored him to do so, rendered no service to the cause or to me. They harmed the cause of non-violence and pained me. What relish could they have in a person using a title from compulsion? I congratulate the gentleman upon his courage in having withdrawn from the Conference rather than use a title under compulsion. He showed, in my opinion, a truer appreciation of what I stand for than my blind admirers. I assure all my admirers and friends that they will please me better if they will forget the *Mahatma* and remember Gandhiji as the gentleman in question quite courteously did, or think of me simply as Gandhi. The highest honour that my friends can do me is to enfore in their own lives the programme that I stand for or to resist me to their utmost if they do not believe in it. Blind adoration, in the age of action is perfectly valueless, is often embarrassing and equally often painful."

"The *Mahatma* I must leave to his fate. Though a non-cooperator I shall gladly subscribe to a bill to make it criminal for anybody to call me *Mahatma* and to touch my feet."

Then one day, he speaks in altered language, speaks of his mission and his work, upon earth, and his message to mankind: "I claim no perfection for myself. But I do claim to be a passionate seeker after Truth, which is but another name for God. In the course of that search the discovery of non-violence came to me. Its sprrad is my life mission. I have no interest in living eccept for the prosecution of that mission."

He now mingles his humility with a sense of calling: "My imperfections and failures are as much a blessing from God as my successes and my talents . . . Why should He have chosen me, an imperfect instrument, for such a mighty experiment? I think He deliberately did so. He had to serve the poor dumb ignorant millions. A perfect man might have been their despair. When they found that one with their failngs was marching on towards *Ahimsa* (the practice of love) they too had confidence in their own capacity."

How this 'humility' was transformed into self-assertion? Gandhi began to feet that he was a chosen instrument of God, was a man with a mission and a message? This question deserves to be taken up as a subject for research regarding Gandhi's betrayal of India.

Gandhi felt and stated, in no uncertain terms, that he had a job to do upon earth, a mission to fulfil both for India and for the world. The typically Gandhian mixture of humllity and emphatic assertion is found in the following. "I venture to suggest, In all humility, that if India reaches her destiny through truth and non-violence, she will have made no small contribution to the world peace for which all the nations of the earth are thirsting, and she would also have, in that case, made some slight return for the help that those nations have been freely giving to her. God has chosen me as His instrument for presenting non-violence to India for dealing with her many ills. I am quite sure that not only should it answer all our requirements in our own country, but that it would, if properly applied, prevent the bloodshed that is going on outside India and threatening to overthrow the Western World. For Peace will not come out of a clash of arms, but out of justice, lived and done by unarmed nations in the face of odds."

One should beware of the humility of those who are constantly referring to their being a drop in the ocean—incidentally, an image which Gandhi used very oftn. with a view to befool his countrymen.

In 1928 Nehru, with ten thousand others, took a beating from the Police. Gandhi sent him the following letter: "My dear Jawahar, my love to you. It was all done bravely. You have braver things to do. May God spare you for many a long year to come, and make you *His chosen instrument* for freeing India from the yoke."

Of course, India has lived to see that both these were, in a way, 'chosen instruments'; but one must give to Jawaharlal Nehru this credit that he never thought, or, at least, spoke in such terms. Indeed, Nehru emerges, in comparison, a more truly humble servent of India, far humbler than Gandhi because of the latter's oft-paraded 'chosen instrument' approach.

Chosen or not chosen, Gandhi always knew how to choose wisely. Instruments or no Instruments. Gandhi always knew who could be his instruments for his various purposes, Vinoba for this, Nehru for that. In any case, he spoke thus about his greatness: "After I am gone no single person will be able completely to represent me. But a little bit of me will live in many of you."

Gandhi was using Nehru as his instrument and Nehru was using Gandhi as his. The conflict between their ideologies came into open later. In spite of their thirty years of association with each other, sooner or later a clash had to take place. In that clash lay the clash of Free India's values, and in the process the younger man won as younger people always do and, may be, ought to do. Jawaharlal Nehru never spoke in terms of being a chosen instrument of God, he was, with all his idealism, of the earth, earthy, and therefore, instead of being an 'instrument' etc., he was only out to tread his chosen path which, rightly or wrongly, diverged—and diverged a great deal—from the path of Gandhi.

Gandhi knew this, felt it coming, and, in the very year—1940—when he was speaking of himself as an instrument, his success began to turn into failure. He bewailed later that God had blurred his vision: "Non-violence is my creed. It is not with the Congress. The Congress has accepted non-violence as a policy. Badshah Khan was the only leader who believed in non-violence as a creed. Even he did not imbibe the doctrine through and through. I have admitted my mistake, I thought our struggle was based on non-violence, whereas in reality it was no more than passive resistance, which essentially is a weapon of the weak. It leads naturally to armed resistance whenever possible. The struggle in the Transvall was not passive resistance. It was based on non-violence. The source of their strength was soul force, not physical force. Intoxicated with my success in South Africa, I came to India. Here too the struggle bore fruit. But I now realize that it was not based on non-violence. If I had known so then, I wonld not have launched the struggle. But God wanted to take that work from me. So he blurred my vision. It was because our struggle was not non-violent that we today witness loot, arson and murder."

India was free. It was not going to be India of Gandhi's dreams. The actor in a film-play cannot become the director. The machine in our service cannot become the master. The musical instrument cannot replace its maker. The man should not become his own creator. Mr. Gandhi failed, failed and failed in a mighty manner. His failure was caused by his followers who betrayed him and their country too.

Moving the second Reading of the Indian Independence Bill, Attle had said:

"Many years ago, when we began the association of Indians in the responsibility of Government and set ourselves to train them in the methods of democracy, it was obvious that the time would come, sooner or later, when Indians would seek to secure the entire management of some of our wisest administrators, and I quote from a letter of Mountstuart Elphinstone as long as 1854:

'The moral is that we must not dream of perpetual possession, but must apply ourselves to bring the natives into a state that will admit of their governing themselves in a manner that may be beneficial to our interests as well as their own, and that of the rest of the world; and to take the glory of the achievement and the sense of having done our duty for the chief reward of our exertions.'

"It has been settled policy of all parties in this country for many years that Indians, in course of time, should manage their own affairs."

All this looked well. Yet, whatever Gandhi had stood for was going as under. He had again and again emphasized that his mission upon earth was to propagate Truth and Non-violence, and to convince mankind of the desirability as well as feasibility of their practical application, both in the life of the individual as well as society, and in national as well as international affairs. In his book "*Good-bye Mr. Gandhi*" Mr. Kanwar Lal further writes thus:

In september, 1939, began the longest and the most horrible orgy of slaughter and destruction in the history of Man. It was brought to an end after an unparalleled spectacle of hatred and bloodshed operating on an unimaginably vast scale and gripping, through an inevitable chain-reaction, like a contagion, almost the entire world in a fever of violence. And it ended, fittingly enough, on a note still more ominous—the invention and use of the atom bomb. That much for hope and faith that a new era of people's belief in truth and non-violence was about to begin, an era in which men and women would adopt love and tolerance as the golden rule of conduct.

"Yet all was not lost; there was Gandhi's India, the country *par excellence*, and the hopes of humanity were now centered on this tand. What happened in India was, however, no better, if not worse; and instead of its coming out as a steel-structure founded on rock that would withstand even the mightiest of earth-quakes, Gandhi found that his India proved to be but a house of cards. But that or something else, it certainly crumbled at the barest touch. For the last 20 years or more, communal harmony had been Gandhi's ideal as well as a major objective of his programme. He had ceaselessly striven to bring this about and had thought that he had succeeded not entirely, but not badly, either. Things, however, took an unexpected turn. Beginning, years ago, as a tentative view, the demand for Pakistan was put forth in clear terms in 1940, in Jinnah's address to the Muslim League. Henceforth there was no going back, so far as this demand was concerned. Indeed, towards the end of that speech, Jinnah expressed the fear that there might be a civil war if the Muslims did not get a separate state of their own. This 'civil war', which did take place all the same, was still in the offing. In the meantime, the world war had come nearer home. Japan's entry in the war was followed by a run through the British possessions in the East so swift, that it posed a real threat to Eastern India. This created a sense of urgency among the leaders—and even a feeling of panic among some of them—so that the clash of policy and creed came into the open, overnight. Many felt that there was a subtle shift even in Gandhi's approach. Perhaps there was, and, may be, there was not. But given a man of Gandhi's stature, even the slightest doubt spelt disaster. The niceties of his argument apart, the common man understood only this that Gandhi had allowed the Congress to take to arms against foreign aggression! This was a departure from the creed which was fraught with danger, and was an admission of 'defeat'. The utter purity of the principle was compromised. If Gandhi could even *think* of such a course for India, it amounted to a betrayal of the principle. The situation now worsensed so quickly that, as the year 1940 degan, a parting of the ways between Congress and Gandhi became inevitable. He requested the Congress Working Committee to relieve him so that he could deliver his message of non-violence all by himself and the Congress agreed to that."

In 1942 came the 'Quit India' Resolution and the arrest of the leaders. Nehru gives the following appraisal:

"The sudden, unorganized demonstrations and outbreaks on the part of the people, culminating in violent conflicts and destruction and continued against overwhelming and powerful armed forces, were a measure of the intensity of their feelings. Those feelings had been there even before the arrest of their leaders, but the arrests and the frequent fringes that followed them, roused the people to anger and to the only course that an enraged mob can follow. For a time there seems to have been a sense of uncertainty as to what should be done. There was no direction, no programme. There was no well-known person to lead them or tell them what to do, and yet they were too excited and angry to remain quiescent. As often happens in these circumstances, local leaders sprang up and were followed for the moment. But even the guidance they gave was little; it was essentially a spontaneous mass upheaval. All over India, the younger generation, especially university students, played an important part in both the violent and peaceful activities of 1942. Many univesities were closed. Some of the local leaders attempted even then to pursue peaceful methods of action and civil disobedience, but this was difficult in the prevailing atmosphere. The people forgot the lesson of non-violence which had been dinned into their ears for more than twenty years, and yet they were wholly unprepared, mentally or otherwise, for any effective violence. That very teaching of non-violent methods produced doubt and hesitation and came in the way of violent action. If the Congress, forgetful of creed, had previously given even a hint of violent action, there is not doubt that the violence that actually took place would have increased a hundred-fold. . .But in the excitement of the moment few people think; they act in accordance with their long suppressed urges which drive them forward. And so, for the first time since the great revolt of 1857, vast numbers of people again rose to challenge by force (but a force without arms!) the fabric of British rule in India."

Violence had gained the upper hand. It had little communal or racial character; but this was not far off. The British Government saw to it that the leaders were kept in jail, and such elements that made for violence or for the obstruction of the war effort were kept in hand. Incidentally this showed that the people as a whole had not been trained into becoming *satyagrahis*—and were unable to upset the Government. In 1945, the war was over and the British started talking in terms of India's Independence. The communal question was now the biggest hurdle. Attlee referred to it in his speech thus:

"The major difficulty that has faced all of us in considering the best way of achieving Indian self-government has been the absence of mutual trust and toleration between the communities. It has sometimes been said by our enemies that this was a difficulty created by ourselves in order to prepetuate our own rule. Nothing could be more untrue. This same difficulty, which faced Mr. Edwin Montagu and the Simon Commission, faced the President of the Board of Trade in his Mission and my three Cabinet colleagues in theirs, and it was still the outstanding difficulty of the present Viceroy when he took office. Everyone who has touched the Indian problem has been brought up against this stumbling-block. They have all wanted to maintain the unity of India, to give India complete self-government and to preserve the rights of minorities. Every one of them has hoped that a solution might be found without resorting to partition. I know that many Indians of all communities passionately desire this, but it has not been found to be practical."

Violence erupted once again and this time on communal ground. From 1946 to 1948 were years of bloodshed and violence. All credit for non-violence of the thirty years of Gandhi's leadership of the nation was brushed aside. Whether out of a sense of realism or justice, or the 'third party's vile tactics', the Congress agreed to India's partition and the country was divided. Whether Independence came as a truncated affair, and finally through violence did not matter. Non-violence and its Champion had served their purpose and, so could be discarded. Gandhi was betrayed twice over both because the Congress and the people had let him down and also because his God had played false.

On the 15th of August, 1947, when India was celebrating the long-awaited Independence, Great and deserving tributes were paid to Gandhi for his role in the fight for independence. Jawaharlal Nehru said:

"The appointed day has come—the day appointed by destiny, and India stands forth again after long slumber and struggle awake and vital, free and independent. The past clings on to us still in some measure and we have to do much, before we redeem the pledges we have so often taken. Yet the turning point is past, history begins anew for us, the history which we shall live and act, and the others will write about.

"It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia, and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materializes. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed.

"We rejoice in that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of our people are sorrow-stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we have to face them in the spirit of a free and disciplined people.

"On this day, our first thoughts go to the architect of this freedom, Father of our Nation, who, embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freeeom and lighted up the darkness that surrounds us. We have often been unworthy followers of his and have strayed from his message, but not only we, but the succeeding generations, will remember this message and bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength, courage and humility. We shall never allow that torch of freedom to be blown out, however high the wind or stormy the tempest."

Acharya Kriplani spoke thus on this occasion.

"This revolution which has ushered the birth of freedom for this land is unique one in the history of the world. Never before was so great an event transforming the destiny of many millions of men and women consummated with such little bloodshed and violence. This is a triumph, not of one brute might over another, but of the spirit of freedom and humanity over the blinding greed of imperialism. That this has been possible is due to the inspiring leadrship of Mahatma Gandhi, who, if any man may be so called, is the Father of our Nation. He has led us in the non-violent battle for freedom and he has shown us the way to make this freedom fruitful in the service of our people To him we pay our homage."

Indeed it was Kriplani who, as president accepted the partition of India. He explains thus:

"I have been with Gandhiji for the last thirty years. I joined him in Champaran. I have never swayed in my loyalty to him. It is not a persoual but a political loyalty. Even when I have differed from him, I have considered his political instinct to be more correct than my elaborately reasoned attitudes. Today, also, I feel that he with his supreme fearlessness is correct and my stand is defective. Why then am I not with him? It is because I feel that he has as yet found no way of tackling the problem on the mass basis. When he taught us non-violent non-co-operation, he showed us a definite method, which we had at least mechanically followed. But, today he himself is groping in the dark. He was in Noakhali. His efforts eased the situation. Now he is in Bihar. And the situation is again eased. But this does not solve in any way the flare-up in the Punjab. He says that he is solving the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity for the whole of India in Bihar. May be. But it is difficult to see how that is being done. There are no definite steps, as in non-violent non-co-operation, that lead to the desired goal.

"And then, unfortunately, for us today, thongh he can enunciate policies, they have in the main to be carried out by the others and these others are not converted to his way of thinking.

"It is under these painful circumstances that I have accepted the division of India."

Gandhi and Nehru also differed on vital points. In 1945, Gandhi had written to Nehru re-asserting his faith in values described in *Hind Swaraj*:

"The first thing I want to write about is the difference of outlook between us. If the difference is fundamental then I feel the public should also be made aware of it. It would be detrimental to our work for *Swaraj* to keep them in the dark. I have said that I still stand by the system of Government envisaged in *Hind Swaraj*. These are not mere words. All the experience gained by me since 1908 when I wrote the booklet has confirmed the truth of my belief. Therefore if I am left alone in it I shall not mind, for I can only bear witness to the truth as I see it. ...

"On the last day of the Working Committee it was decided that this matter should be fully discussed and the position clarified after a two or three days' session. I should like this. But whether the Working Committee sits or not I want our position vis-a-vis each other to be clearly understood by us for two reasons. Firstly, the bond that unites us is not only political work. It is immeasurably deeper and quite unbreakable. Therefore it is that I earnestly desire that in the political field also we should understand each other clearly. Secondly neither of us thinks himself useless. We both live for the cause of India's freedom and we would both gladly die for it. We are not in need of the world's praise. Whether we get praise or blame is immaterial to us. There is no room for praise in service. I want to live up to 125 for the service of India but I must admit that I am now an old man. You are much younger in comparison and I have therefore named you as my heir. I must, however, understand my heir and my heir should understand me. Then alone shall I be content."

Nehru replied in full, disagreeing on almost every point. This letter of Nehru is a most important document and shows that Gandhi was already a beaten man. Nehru summed up the Gandhi of those days as follows:

"The developments in the War situation posed new questions before the Congress Working Committee. Gandhiji wanted the Committee to extend the principle of non-violence, to which we had adhered in our struggle for freedom, to the functioning of a free State. A free India must rely on this principle to guard itself against external aggression or internal disorder. This question did not arise for us at the time, but it occupied his own mind and he felt that the time had come for a clear enunciation. Every one of us was convinced that we must adhere to our policy of non-violence, as we had so far done, in our own struggle. The War in Europe had strengthened this conviction. But to commit the future State was another and a more difficult matter, and it was not easy to see how anyone moving on the plane of politics could do it.

"Mr. Gandhi felt, and probably rightly, that he could not give up or tone down a message which he had for the world. He must have freedom to give it as he liked and must not be kept by political exigencies. So, for the first time, he went one way and the Congress Working Committee another. There was no break with him for the bond was too strong, and he will no doubt continue to advise in many ways and often to lead. Yet it is perhaps true that by his partial withdrawal, a definite period in the history of our national movement has come to an end. In recent years I have found a certain hardness creeping into him, a lessening of the adaptability that he possessed. Yet the old spell is there, the old charm works, and his personality and greatness tower over others. Let no one imagine that his influence over India's millions is any the less. He has been the architect of India's destiny for twenty years and more; his work is not completed."

In 1928, Gandhi could write to Jawaharlal Nehru as follows:

"Though I was beginning to detect some differences in viewpoint between you and me, I had no notion whatsoever of the terrible extent of these differences. Whilst you were heroically suppressing yourself for the sake of the nation and in the belief that by working with and under me in spite of yourself, you would serve the nation and come out scathless, you were chafing under the burden of this unnatural self-suppression. And, while you were in the state, you overlooked the very things which appear to you now as my serious blemishes. . . But whilst you were under stupefaction these things did not jar on you as they do now. And it seems to me therefore useless to show you the discrepancies in your letter. What I am now concerned with is future action.

"If any freedom is required from me I give you all the freedom you may need from the humble, unquestioning allegiance that you have given to me for all these years and which I value all the more for the knowledge I have now gained of your state. I see quite clearly that you must carry on open warfare against me and my views. For, if I am evidently doing irreparable harm to the country and it is your duty after having known it to rise in revolt against me. Or, if you have any doubt as to correctness of your conclusions, I shall gladly discuss them with you personally. The differences between you and me appear to me to be so vast and radical that there seems to be no meeting ground between us. I can't conceal from you my grief that I should lose a comrade so valiant, so faithful, so able and so honest as you have always been; but in serving a cause, comradeships have got to be sacrificed. The cause must be held superior to all such considerations."

Now it was too late for either of them to hold the tide back. Seventeen years earlier, the country had taken the great pledge:

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally, and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain *Poorna Swaraj* or complete independence."

On 26th January, 1948, Gandhi, in his prayer meeting had said:

"This day, 26th January, is Independence Day. This observance was quite appropriate when we were fighting for Independence we had not seen nor handled. Now! We have handled it and we seem to be disillusioned. At least I am, even if you are not.

"What are we celebrating today? Surely not our disillusionment. We are entitled to celebrate the hope that the worst is over and that we are on the road to showing the lowliest of the villager that it means his freedom from serfdom and that he is no longer a serf born to serve the cities and towns of India but that he is destined to exploit the city dwellers for the advertisement of the finished fruits of well-thought out labours, that he is the salt of the Indian earth, that it means also equality of all classes and creeds, never the domination and superiority of the major community over a minor, however insignificant it may be in number or influence. Let us not defer the hope and make the heart sick. Yet what are the strikes and a variety of lawlessness but a deferring of the hope? These are symptoms our sickness and weakness. Let labour realize its dignity and strength. Capital has neither dignity nor strength compared to labour. Them, the man in street also has. In a well-ordered democratic society there is no room, no occasion for lawlessness or strikes. In such a society there are ample lawful means for vindicating justice. Violence, veiled or unveiled must be taboo. Strikes mean material loss to the whole society not excluding the strikers themselves. I need not be reminded that this declamation does not lie well in the mouth of one like me who has been responsible for so many successful strikes. If there be such critics they ought not to forget that then there was neither independence nor the kind of legislation we have now. I wonder if we can remain free from the fever of power politics or the bid for power which afflicts the political world in the East and the West. Before leaving this topic of the day, let us permit ourseleves to hope that though geographically and politically India is divided into two, at heart we shall ever be friends and brothers helping and respecting one another and be one for the outside world."

20 Godse Goes To Gallows

Nathuram Vinayak Godse, the first accused in Gandhi Murder case stated as under:

Before I make my submission as regards the various charges, I respectfully submit that the charges as framed are not according to law, in as much as there is a misjoinder of charges and there ought to have been two separate trials one relating to the incident of the 20th of January 1948 and the other relating to the incident of the 30th of January 1948. The two having been mixed up together the whole trial is vitiated. . . .

It appears from the charge-sheet that the prosecution takes the events that have happened on 20th January 1948 and thereafter on 30th January 1948 as one and the same or a chain of events in continuation of one and the same object culminating in the murder of Gandhiji. I therefore, wish to make it clear at the outset that the events up to 20th January 1948 are quite independent and they have no connection whatsoever with what happened thereafter and on 30th January, 1948.

The first and the foremost amongst the accused to murder Gandhiji is Godse. I shall therefore first deal with the same, I say that there was no conspiracy of any kind whatsoever amongst the accused to commit any of the offences mentioned in the charge-sheet. I may also state here that I have not abetted any of the other accused in the commission of the alleged offences.

I say that the evidence led by Prosecution in this regard does not establish and prove that there was any conspiracy whatsoever. The only witness who deposes about the alleged conspiracy is Digamber R. Badge (Prosecution Winess 57). He is a totally unreliable witness as will be shown to Your Honour by my counsel.

On January 30, 1948, Gandhi was shot point blank in the evening at 5.00 P.M. by Nathuram Godse while the former was on his way to the dais for the prayer meeting. Gandhi went unconscious instantaneously and breathed his last some twenty minutes later.

Nathuram after firing shots raised his hands and called for the police. He was apprehended.

Investigations were confined mainly to Bombay, Delhi and Gwalior.

A special Court was constituted to conduct the trial. Shri Atma

Charan Agrawal, I.C.S. was appointed as the Judge.

The venue of the court was the memorable Red Fort, Delhi. This was to be the third historical trial to be witneseed here. The first was of Bahadur Shah Zafar and others. They were among those who waged War of Independence against the British in 1857. The Second was in 1945. The officers of the Indian National Army were charged with revolt against the British rule during the Second World War. The third was to be for Gandhi Murder.

A row of cells in one of the walls of the fort was turned into a jail for the accused.

Twelve persons were accused on different charges. Three of them were absconding. The nine produced before Shri Atma Charan on May 27, 1948 and onward were (1) Nathuram Vinayak Godse, 37, Pune (2) Narayan Dattatreya Apte, 34, Pune (3) Vishnu Ram Krishna Karkare, 37, Ahmednagar, (4) Madan Lal K. Pahwa, 20 Bombay orginally from Dist. Montgomery, Pakistan) (5) Shankar Kistaiya, 20, Sholapur, (6) Gopal Vinayak Godse, 27, Pune, (7) Digambar Ramchandra Badge, 40, Pune, (8) Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, 66, Bombay, and (9) Dattatreya Sadashiv Parchure, 47, Gwalior.

The three absconding persons were: (1) Gangadhar Dandavate, (2) Gngadhar Jadhao, and (3) Suryadeo Sharma, all from Gwalior.

Savarkar was the pioneer who for the first time advocated that the rise of 1857 was not a mere mutiny of the sepoys as decribed by the British, but it was a War of Independence.

Savarkar was accused of sedition and sentenced to transportation for life twice, the sentences, queerly enough, to run consecutively. It was in 1910. He was free only after 1937, from any restrictions imposed on him.

Savarkar was bestowed upon the title of Swatantrya Veer, the stalwart of independence, by the people.

Gopal Godse says:

"Savakar had forewarned years before the actual partition that the leading party i.e. the Indian National Congress would deceive the people and vivisect India to appease Moslems, and then it would also appease Moslem sentiments in the rest of India".

In the words of Nathuram Godse, "Savarkar stood for the nation. logically condemned the policy of Moslem appeasement of Gandhi and the Congress. It was easy for the prosecution, guided by the Congress Government, to book Savarkar for the murder, The prosecution could cash on flagrant distortion of the ethos when he was directly implicated, rather than deal on abstract concepts for which he stood."

Nathuram, in his written statement, detailed particularly from Part II onward, the reasons of his decision to kill Gandhi. The prosecution had the knowledge of it beforehand. It raised an objection to the reading, which was over-ruled by the Judge.

The statment was read out. The Press published portions of it the next day. With the stranglehold of authority the Government banned the statement for its reproduction or publication in part or in full.

The motive on the part of the Government was obvious, It did not like Gandhi to be exposed to the public by what Nathuram Godse had stated. It wanted to permit atmosphere of prejudice against the assassin to continue and suppress the truth. Indians were betrayed once again when truth was concealed.

The Government's action remained unchallenged and the ban continued for years till the law was annulled. It is after a lapse of about three decades that the betrayal was exposed.

Nathuram argued for two days without challenging his conviction under the murder charge. The Press had no free choice to pubiish the proceedings in their true form.

The prosecution produced 149 witnesses. The hearing was closed on December 30, 1948 and judgment reserved. It was pronounced on Feb. 10,1949.

Veer Savarkar was acquitted.

Digamber Badge was granted pardon and set free for having deposed against his co-accused.

Vishnu Karkare, Madanlal Pahwa, Gopal Godse, Shankar Kistaiya and Dr. Parchure were to suffer, inter alia, transportation for life.

Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte were sentenced to be hanged. Justice Bhandari, Achhru Ram and G.D. Khosla JJ heard the appeals in May and June 1949. They pronounced their Judgement on June 22, 1949. They found Shankar Kistaiya and Dr. Parchure not guilty and acquitted them.

The sentences of Vishnu Karkare, Gopal Godse and Madanlal Pahwa were confirmed. The Judges also confirmed the death sentence of Naryan Apte. Nathuram's death penalty was automatically confirmed.

After retirement Justice Khosla gave a vivid picture of the Court scene as it then passed before his mind's eye:

"The highlight of the appeal before us was the discourse delivered by Nathuram Godse in his defence. He spoke for several hours, discussing, in the first instance, the facts of the case and then motive which had prompted him to take Mahatma Gandhi's life . . .

"The audience was visibly and audibly moved. There was a deep silence when he ceased speaking. Many women were in tears and men coughing and searching for their handkerchiefs. The silence was accentuated and made deeper by the sound of an occasional subdued sniff or a muffled cough . . .

"I have however, no doubt that had the audience of that day been constituted into a jury and entrusted with the task of deciding Godse's appeal, they would have brought in a verdict of 'not guilty' by an overweelming majority."

Nathuram had displayed the same ability while arguing his case before Shri Atma Charan, the Judge of the Special Court, Red Fort, Delhi.

The fate of the absconding accused hinged on Dr. Parchure's conviction or acquital. On Dr. Parchure's acquittal the three appeared, before a Magistrate in Gwalior. They were set free.

The Press was muzzled in respect of Nathuram's arguments in the High Court as well. His exciting plea made with an impassioned appeal and delivered with rare poise naturally interested the Press, and the correspondents took it down *ad verbatim*. But as soon as the Judges returned to their chamber the police pounced on the correspondents and snatched their note books. They did not stop at that. They tore down the note books into pieces and warned the pressmen of severe consequences if they published the true account of Nathuram's speech. The Press was forced to obey the Government's instructions and accordingly disjointed and distorted reports were carried by news papers.

Some papers did write articles evaluating the event in its proper perspective. It was after the death penalty was executed. The papers were subjected to heavy security and harrassment. Instead of having love for the truth, the Government was allergic to it.

why? Because Gandhi stood for 'a truth behind the curtain'.

Nathuram Godse and Naryan Apte were executed in Ambala Jail at 8 A.M. on Tuesday, November 15, 1949 after twenty one and a half months of the shooting incident.

The two started for their journey beyond life. They had carried with them in their hands the *Bhagwad Gita*, a map of undivided Hindustan and a saffron flag.

On reaching the platform they recited a Sanskrit verse of devotion to the Motherland. The operation was over with the drop of the rope but without any drop of blood.

Nathuram's death was instantaneous. Naryan's knees once tried to reach his chin. He shook in the unconscious state for a couple of minutes and then life was completely extinct.

In Paras 35 onwards of his written statement before the court, Nathuram Godse says thus:

I shall just mention here two striking instances only out of a number of them which painfully opened my eyes about this time to the fact that Veer Savarkar and other old leaders of *Mahasabha* could no longer be relied upon by me and the Hindu youths of my persuasion to guide or even to appreciate the fighting programme with which we aimed to counteract Gandhiji's activities inside and the Muslim League outside. In 1946 or there about the Muslim atrocities perpetrated on the Hindus under the Government patronage of Surhawardy in Noakhli, made our blood boil. Our shame and indignation knew no bounds, when we saw that Gandhiji had come forward to shield that very Surhawardy and began to style him as 'Shahid Saheb'—a Martyr Soul (!) even in his prayer meetings. Not only that but after coming to Delhi, Gandhiji began to hold his prayer meetings in a Hindu temple in

Bhangi Colony and persisted in reading passages from *Qu'ran* as a part of the prayer in that Hindu temple inspite of the protest of the Hindu worshippers there. Of course he dared not read the *Gita* in a mosque in the teeth of Muslim reaction would have been if he had done so. But he could safely trample over the feelings of the tolerant Hindu. To belie this belief I determined to prove to Gandhiji that the Hindu too could be intolerant when his honour was insulted.

Mr. Apte and I decided to stage a series of demonstrations in Delhi at his meetings and make it impossible for him to hold such prayers. Mr. Apte with a large section of the refugees took out a procession in Delhi condemning Gandhiji and his Shahid Surhawardy and rushed into his prayer-meeting in the Bhangi Colony. Seeing the tumultuous protest that followed, Gandhiji slyly took shelter behind barred and guarded doors although at that time we had not the slightest idea of using any force.

But when Veer Savarkar read the report of this demonstration, instead of appreciating our move, he called me and blamed me privately for such anarchical tactics, even though this demonstration was peaceful. He said "Just as I condemn the Congressites for breaking up your party meetings and election boths by disorderly conduct, I ought to condemn any such undemocratic conduct on the part of Hindu Sanghatanist also. If Gandhiji preached anti-Hindu teachings in his prayer meetings you should hold your party meeting and condemn his teachings. Amongst ourselves all different parties should conduct their propaganda on strictly constitutional lines."

The second leading incident took place just after this, when the partition of India was actually decided on. A group of Hindu Mahasabhaites wanted to know what the Hindu Mahasabha's attitude should be with regard to the Congress Government which was certain to be the Government of the New State, ruling over the so-called Indian State in the remaining part of India. Veer Savarkar and other top-ranking Hindu Mahasabha leaders quickly and emphatically said that any Indian Government formed to conduct such a freed Indian State shauld be no longer looked upon as a Government of a party—A congress Government—but must be honoured and obeyed as a National Government of Hindustan, and howsoever they deplored the creation of Pakistan their future motto should be a loyal and all-out support to the newly born Free Indian State. Thus alone would it be possible to safeguard the newly won freedom. Any attempt on their part to undermine the Indian State would bring in a Civil War and enable the Muslims to realise their sinful and secret mission to turn the whole of India into Pakistan.

My friends and I however returned unconvinced. We felt in our heart of hearts that time had come when we should bid good-bye to Veer Savarkar's lead and cease to consult him in our future policy and programme, nor should we confide to him our future plans.

Just after that followed the terrible outburst of Muslim fanaticism in the Punjab and other parts of India. The Congress Government began to prosecute, and shoot the Hindus themselves who dared to resist the Muslim forces in Bihar, Calcutta, Punjab and other places. Our worst fears seemed to be coming true, and yet how painful and disgraceful it was for us to find that the 15th of August 1947 was celebrated with illumination and festivities, while the whole of the Punjab was set by the Muslims in flames and Hindu blood ran rivers. The Hindu Mahasabhaites of my persuasion decided to boycott the festivities and the Congressite Government and to launch a fighting programme to check Muslim onsalughts.

The meetings of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha and the All India Hindu Convention were held on or about 6th of August, 1947, in Delhi, and Veer Savarkar presided. Mr. Apte and other friends and myself wanted to make a last effort to bring the Mahasabha and its veteran leaders like Veer Savakar. Dr. Mukherjee, Mr. L.B. Bhopatkar and others to our views to adopt a fighting resolution. The Mahasabha Working Committee did not accept our suggestion to appoint a council of action against Hyderabad or boycott the Congress Government which was to run the newly created state of Divided India. To my mind to recongnise a State of Divided India was tantamount to be a party to the cursed vivisection of India, But instead the Working Committee passed a frothy resolution and asked people to hoist the Bhagwa Flag on their houses on the 15th day of August 1947. Veer Savarkar went further and actually insisted that the tri-colour flag with the wheel should be recognised as a National Flag. We openly resented his attitude.

Not only that but on the 15th August, Veer Savarkar setting aside the will of the majority of Hindu Sanghtanists hoisted this new flag with the wheel, as a National Flag, on his house along with the Bhagwa. In addition to that when Dr. Mukherjee asked his permission through a trunk call to Veer Savarkar, as to whether Dr. Mukherjee should accept a portfolio in the Indian Union Ministry, Veer Savarkar emphatically replied that the new Government must be recognised as a National Government whatever may be the elected party leading it, and must be supported by all patriots and consequently Hindu Sanghatanists ought to extend co-operation by accepting a portfolio if called upon to do so. He also congratulated the Congressite Ministers for the compromising attitude they were taking in calling on a Hindu Sabha leader like Dr. Mukherjee to participate in the forming of National Ministry, Mr. Bhopatkar too supported Dr. Mukherjee.

By this time it came to light that some top leaders of the Congress and some of their Pronvincial Ministers too had contacted Veer Savarkar and there was a brisk correspondence between them for forming a united front to support the new state, which policy Veer Savarkar had already advocated. I myself could not be opposed to a common front of patriots, but while the Congress Government continued to be so sheepishly under the thumb of Gandhiji and while Gandhiji could thrust his anti-Hindu fads on that Congressite Government by resorting to such a simple trick as threatening a fast, it was clear to me that any common front under such circumstances was bound to be another form of setting up Gandhiji's Dictatorship and consequently a betrayal of Hindusdom.

Every one of these steps taken by Veer Savarkar were so deeply resented by me that I myself along with Mr. Apte and some of the young Hindu Sanghatanist friends decided once for all to chalk and work out our active programme quite independently of the Maha Sabha or its old veteran leaders. We resolved not to confide any of our new plans to any of them including Veer Srvarkar.

I began to criticse the Hindu Maha Sabha and the policy of its old leaders in my daily paper *Agrani* or *Hindu Rashtra* and to openly call upon the young generation of Hindu Sanghatanists to accept our own active programme.

In order to work out my new independent programme I decieded to undertake two definite items in hand to begin with. The first items was to organise a series of powerful though peaceful demonstrations against Gandhiji so as to make him feel the impact of organised Hindu discontent, and to create confusion and disorder by demostrative protests, etc. in his obnoxious prayer-meetings through which he then carried out his anti-Hindu propaganda; and secondly to carry on an agitation against the Hyderabad State to defend our Hindu brothers and sisters near about the frontier line from the fanatic atrocities committed on them by the Muslims. As such a programme could only be carried out on secret and dictatorial lines we resolved to divulge it only to those who believed in it and would obey our orders without questioning.

I would not have referred to the above details in this statement but for the learned prosecutor's opening speach in which he painted me as a mere tool in the hands of Veer Savarkar. This statement I felt to be a deliberate insult to my independence of judgment and action. The above facts had to be mentioned to dispel the incorrect impression about me, if any. Consequently, before I begin to narrate the rest of my statement, I reassert that it is not true that Veer Savarkar had any knowledge of my activities which ultimately led me to fire shots at Gandhiji; I repeat that it is totally false that either. Mr. Apte in my presence or myself told Bange that Veer Savarkar had given us an order to finish Gandhiji, Nehru and Suhrawardy as the approver is made to State falsely."

Xraying Gandhi's politics Nathuram Godse narrated the history of India from ancient times to the year 1947. Relevant paragraphs of his statement before the court are mentioned here:

Depiste their objection to the principle of communal electorates the unreasonable of the Muslim League were conceded by the Congress firstly by the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and at each successive revision of the constitution thereafter. This lapse from nationalism and democracy on the part of the Congress has proved an explosive calamity as the sequel has shown.

Since the year 1920, that is to say after the demise of Lokamanya Tilak, Gandhiji's influence in the Congress first increased and then became supreme. His activities for public awakening were phenomenonal in their intensity and were reinforced by the slogan of truth and non-violence which he ostentatiously paraded before the country. No sensible or enlightened person could object to these slogans; in fact there is nothing new or original in them. They are implict in every constitutional public movement. To imagine that the bulk of mankind is or can ever become capable of scrupulous adherence to these lofty principles in its normal life from day to day is a mere dream. In fact honour, duty and love of one's own kith and kin and country might often compel us to disregard non-violence. I could never conceive that an armed resistance to the aggressor is unjust. I will consider it a religious and moral duty to resist and if possible to overpower such on enemy by the use of force. Shree Ramachandra killed Ravan in a tumultuous fight and relieved Sita. Shree Krishna killed Kansa to end his wickedness. In the *Mahabharat* Arjun had to fight and slay, quite a number of his friends and relations including the revered Bhishma, because the latter was on the side of the aggressor. It is my firm belief that in dubbing Rama, Krishna and Arjuna as guilty of violence is to betray a total ignorance of the springs of human action. It was the heroic fight put up by the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj that first checked and eventually destroyed Muslim tyranny in India. It was absolutely correct tactics for Shivaji to kill Afzul Khan as the latter would otherwise have surely killed him. In condemning Shivaji, Rana Pratap and Guru Govind as misguided patriots, Gandhiji has merely exposed his self-conceit.

Each of the heroes in his time resisted aggression on our country, protected the people against the atrocities and outrages by alien fanatics and won back the motherland from the invader. On the other hand during more than thirty years of the undisputed leadership of the Mahatma there were more desecration of temples, more forcible and fraudulent conversions, more outrages on women and finally the loss of one third of the country. It is therefore astounding that his followers cannot see what is clear even to the blind, viz. that the Mahatma was a mere pigmy before Shivaji, Rana Pratap and Guru Govind. His condemnation of these illustrious heroes was to say the least, most presumptuous.

For the first five years after his (Gandhi's) return to India there was not much scope for the attainment by him of supreme leadership in Indian politics. Dadabhai Naroji, Sir, Pherozeshah Mehta, Lokmanya Tilak and Mr. G.K. Gokhale and others were still alive and Gandhiji honoured as he was, popular as he was, was still a junior compared to those veterans both in age and experience. But an inexorable fate removed all of them in five years and with the death of Lokmanya Tilak in August, 1920, Gandhiji was at once thrown into the front line.

Our British rulers were able, out of Indian resource continuously to make concessions to Muslims and to keep the various communities divided. By 1919 Gandhiji had become desperate in his endeavours to get the Muslims to trust him and went from one absurd promise to another. He promised a blank cheque to the Muslims. He backed the *Khilafat* movement in this country and was able to enlist the full support of the National Congress in that policy. For a time, Gandhiji appeared to succeed and prominent Muslim leaders in India became his followers; Mr. Jinnah was no where in 1920-21, and the Ali Brothers became de facto Muslim leaders. Gandhiji welcomed this as the coming promise of leadership of the Muslims. He made most of the Ali Brothers, raised them to the skies by flattery and unending concessions; but what he wanted never happened. The Muslims ran the *Khilafat* Committee as a distinct political religious organisation and throughout maintained it as a separate entity from the Congress; and very soon the *Moplah* Rebellion showed that the Muslims had not the slightest idea of national unity on which Gandhiji had set his heart and had staked so much. There followed as usual in such cases, a huge slaughter of the Hindus, numerous forcible conversions, rape and arson. The British Government entirly unmoved by the rebellion suppressed it in a few months and left to Gandhiji the joy of his Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Khilafat* agitation had failed and let down Gaudhiji. Imperialism emerged stronger, the Muslims became more fanatical and the consequences were visited on the Hindus. But undaunted by the tactics of the British Rulers, Gandhiji became more stubborn in the pursuit of his phantom of Hindu-Muslim unity. By the Act of 1919 separate electorates were enlarged and communal representation was continued not merely in the legislature and the local bodies but even extended within the Cabinet. The services began to be distributed on the communal basis and the Muslims obtained high jobs from our British Masters not on merit but by remaining aloof from the struggle for freedom and because of their being the followers of Islam. Government patronage to Muslims in the name of Minority protection penetrated throughout the body-politic of the Indian State and the Mahatma's meaningless slogans were no match against this wholesale corruption of the Muslim mind. But Gandhiji did not relent. He still lived in the hope of being the common leader both of the Hindus and Muslims and the more he was defeated, the more he indulged in encouraging the Muslims by extravagant methods. The position continued to deteriorate and by 1925 it became patent to all that the Government had won all along the line; but like the proverbial gambler Gandhiji increased his stake. He agreed to the separation of Sind and to the creation of a separate province in the N.W. Frontier. He also went on conceding one undemocratic demand after another to the Muslim League in the vain hope of enlisting its support in the national struggle. By this time the stock of the Ali Brothers had gone down and Mr. Jinnah who had staged a come-back was having the best of both the worlds. Whatever concessions the Government and the Congress made, Mr. Jinnah accepted and asked for more. Separation of Sind from Bombay and the creation of the N.W. Frontier were followed by thc Round Table Conference in which the minority question loomed large. Mr. Jinnah stood out against the federation until Gandhiji himself requested Mt. McDonald, the Labour Premier, to give the Communal Award, further seeds were there by sown for the disintegration of this country. The communal principle became deeply imbedded in the Reforms of 1935. Mr. Jinnah took the fullest advantage of every situation. The Federation of India which was to consolidate Indian nationhood was in fact, defeated, Mr. Jinnah had never taken kindly to it. The Congress continued to support the Communal Award under the very hypocritical words of neither supporting nor opposing, which really meant its tacit acceptance. During the War 1939-40. Mr. Jinnah took up openly one attitude—a sort of benevolent neutraility—and promised to support the war as soon as the Muslims rights were conceded; in April 1940, within six months of the War, Mr. Jinnah came out with the demand for Pakistan on the basis of his two-nation theory. Mr. Jinnah totally ignored the fact that there were Hindus and Muslims in large numbers in every part of India. There may be a majority of Hindus in some case and a minority of Muslims in other provinces and vice-versa, but there was no province in India where either the Hindus or the Muslims were neglibile in numbers and that any division of India would leave the minority question wholly unsolved.

The Congress in 1942 started the Quit India movement in the name of Freeeom; violent outrages were prepetrated by Congressmen in every province. In the province of North Bihar there was hardly a railway station which was not burnt or destroyed by the Congress non-co-operators but in spite of all the opposition of the Congress the Germans were beaten in April 1945 and the Japanese in August 1945. The atomic bomb brought the collapse of the Japanese and Germans inspite of the Congress party. The Quit India campaign of 1942 had completely failed. Britishers had triumphed and the Congress leaders decided to come to terms with them. Indeed in the subsequent years the Congress policy can be quite correctly described as 'Peace at any Price' and 'Congress in Office at all cost.' The Congress compromised with the British who placed it in office and in return the Congress surrendered to the violence of Mr. Jinnah, carved out one-third of India to him an explicitly racial and theological State and destroyed two million human beings in the process. Pandit Nehru now professes again and again that the Congress stands for a secular State and violently denounces those who reminded him that only last year he agreed to a communal and theological State; his vociferous adherence to a 'Secular State' is nothing but a case of 'my lady protests too much.'

The Quit India movement had to be abandoned, the Congress support to the war against Japan had to be assured and the Viceroy Lord Wavell had to be accepted as the head of the Government of India be fore the Congress was to be called into the Conference Chamber.

This section summarises the background of the agony of India's partition and the tragedy of Gandhiji's assassination. Neither the one nor the other gives me any pleasure to record or to remember, but the Indian people and the world at large ought to know the history of the last thirty years during which India has been torn into pieces by the Imperialist policy of the British and under a mistaken policy of communal unity. The Mahatma was betrayed into action which has ultimately led not to the Hindu-Muslim unity but to the shattering of the whole basis of that unity.

The accumulating provocation of 32 years culminating in his last pro-Mulsim fast at last goaded me to the conclusion that the existence of Gandhiji should be brought to an end immediately. He alone knew when to begin it and when to withdraw it. The movement may succeed or fail; it may bring untold disasters and political reverses but that could make no difference to the Mahatma's infallibility. 'A *Satyagrahi* can never fail' was his formula for declaring his own infallibility and nobody except himself knew who a *Satyagrahi* was. Thus Gandhiji became the judge and the counsel in his own case. These childish inanities and obstinacies coupled with a most severe austerity of life, ceaseless work and lofty character made Gandhiji formidable and irresistible. Many people thought his politics were irrational but they had either to withdraw from the Congress or to place their intelligence at his feet to do what he liked with it. In a position of such absolute irresponsibility Gandhiji was guilty of blunder after blunder, failure after failure and disaster after disaster. No one single political victory can be claimed to his credit during 33 years of his political predominance. Herein below I mention in some detail the series of blunders which he committed during 32 years of his undisputed leadership.

I shall now describe briefly the enormous mischief done by the slogans and the nostrums which Gandhiji prescribed and followed, in pursuance of his policy, the fatal results that we now know. Here are some of them:

(*a*) *Khilafat*—As a result of the First World War, Turkey had lost most of its Empire in Africa and the Middle East. It had lost all the European Imperial possessions also and by 1964 only a strip of land was all that was left to her on the continent of Europe. The young Turks had forced the Sultan of Turkey to abdicate and with the disappearance of the Sultan the *Khilafat* was also abolished. The Indian Muslims' devotion to the *Khilafat* was strong and earnest and they believed that it was Britain that had brought about the downfall of the Sultan and the *Khilafat*. They therefore started a campaign for the revival of the *Khilafat*. In the moment of opportunism the Mahatma misconceived the idea that by helping the *Khilafat* Movement he would become the leader of the Muslims in India as he already was of the Hindus and that with the Hindu-Muslim Unity thus achieved the British would soon have to coucede *Swaraj.* The Muslims had kept the *Khilafat* Movement distinct from the Congress all along; they welcomed the Congress support but they did not merge with it. When failure came the Muslims became desperate with disappointment and their anger was shifted on the Hindus. Innumerable riots in the various parts of India followed, the Chief victims being the Hindus, everywhere. The Hindu-Mulsim Unity of the Mabatma became a mirage.

(*b*) *Moplah* Rebellion—Malabar, Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F. Province were the scene of repeated outrages on the Hindus. The *Moplah* rebellion as it was called was the most prolonged and concentrated attack on the Hindu religion, Hindu honour, Hindu life and Hindu property; hundreds of Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam, women were outraged. The Mahatma who had brought about all this calamity on India by his communal policy kept mum.

(*c*) Afghan Amir Intrigue—When the *Khilafat* movement failed Ali Brothers decided to do something which might keep alive the *Khilafat* sentiments. Their slogan was that whoever was the enemy of the *Khilafat* was also the enemy of Islam and as the British were chiefly responsible for the defeat and the dethronement of the Sultan of Turkey, every faithful Muslim was in solemn duty bound to be a bitter enemy of Britain. With that object they secretly intrigued to invite the Amir of Afghanistan to invade India and promised him every support. There is a long history behind this intrigue; Ali brothers never denied their share in the conspiracy. The Mahatma pursued his tactics of getting Hindu—Muslim Unity by supporting the Ali brothers. . . . Mr. Shastri, Mr. C.Y. Chintamani the Editor of the '*leader*' of Allahabad and even the Mahatma's life-long friends, the late Rev. C.F. Andrews told him quite clearly that his speeches and writings amounted to a definite support to the Ali Brothers in their invitation to the Amir of Afghanistan to invade India. The following quotations from the Mahatma's writing in those days should make it clear that he had forgotten his own country in his one consuming desire to please the Muslims and had become a party to the invasion of his motherland by a foreign Ruler. The Mahatma supported the invasion in the following words:

"I cannot understand why the Ali Brothers are going to be arrested as the rumours go, and why I am to remain free. They have done nothing which I would not do. If they had sent a message to Amir, I also would send one to inform the Amir, that if he came, no Indian so long as I can help it, would help the Government to drive him back."

(*a*) (i) Attack on *Arya Samaj*—Gandhiji ostentatiously displayed his love for Muslims by a most unworthy and unprovoked attack on the *Arya Samaj* in 1924. He publicly denounced the *Samaj* for its supposed sins of ommission and commission; it was an utterly unwarranted reckless and discreditable attack, but whatever would please the Mohammedans was the heart's desire of Gandhiji. The *Arya Samaj* made a powerful but polite retort and for some time Gandhiji was silenced, badly led by the self seeking section of the *Samaj*. The *Samaj* has ceased to be the force and the power that it was at one time.

(*b*) (ii) Gandhiji's attack did not improve his popularity with the Muslims but it provoked a Muslim youth to murder Swami Shraddhanand ji within a few months. Gandhiji's star was ascendant in the political firmament.

(*c*) Separation of Sind—By 1928 Mr. Jinnah's stock had risen very high and the Mahatma had already conceded many unfair and improper demands of Mr. Jinnah at the expense of Indian democracy and the Indian nation and the Hindus. The Mahatma even supported the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and threw the Hindus of Sind to the Communal wolves. Numerous riots took place in Sind—Karachi, Sukkur, Shikarpur and other places in which the Hindus were the only sufferers and the Hindu-Mulsim Unity receded further from the horizon.

(*d*) League's Good-bye to Congress—The aloofness of Muslims from the Congress increased with the advance of years and the Muslims League refused to have anything to do with the Congress after 1928. The resolution of Independence passed by the Congress at its Lahore Session in 1929 found the Muslims conspicuous by their absence and strongly aloof from the Congress organisation. The hope of Hindu-Muslim Unity was hardly entertained, by anybody thereafter; but Gandhiji continued to be resolutely optimistic and surrendered more and more to Muslim communalism.

(*e*) Round-Table Conference and Communal-Award—The Congress however soon regretted its boycott of the First Round Table Conference and at the Karachi Congress of 1931 it was decided to send Gandhiji alone as the Congress Representative to Second Session of Round Table Conference. Anybody who reads the proceedings of that Session will realise that Gandhiji was the biggest factor in bringing about the total failure of the Conference. Not one of the decisions of the Round Table Conference was support of democracy or nationalism and the Mahatma went to the length of inviting Mr. Ramsay Mc Donald to give what was called the Communal Award, thereby strengthening the disintegrating forces of communalism which had already corroded the body politic for 24 years past. The Mahatma was thus responsible for a direct and substantial intrusion of communal electorate and communal franchise in the future Parliament of India. There is no wonder that when the communal award was given by Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald, the Mahatma refused to oppose it and the members of the Assembly were asked 'neither to support nor to reject it.' Gandhiji himself put an axe on the communal unity on which he had staked so much for the previous fifteen years. No wonder under the garb of minority protection we got in the Government of India Act of 1935 a permanent statutory recognition of communal franchise, communal electorate and even weightage for the minorities especially the Muslims, both in the Pronvinces and in Centre.

(*f*) Acceptance of Office and Resigning in Huff—Provincial Autonomy was introduced from the Ist of April, 1937 under the Government of India Act, 1935. The act was bristling with safeguards, special powers, protection to British personnel in the various infact. The Congress therefore would not accept office at first but soon found out that in every province a ministry was constituted and that least in five Provinces they were functioning in the normal manner. In the other six provinces the ministers were in a minority but they were forging ahead with their nation building progrmme and the Congress felt that it would be left out in the cold if it persisted in its policy of barren negation. It therefore decided to accept office in July 1937; in doing so it committed a serious blunder in excluding the members of the Muslim League from effective participation in the Cabinet. They only admitted into the Cabinet such Muslims as were congressmen. This was the right policy for a country with citizen franchise and without communal representation but having accepted communal electorate and communal franchise and other paraphernalia of separatism, it became untenable to keep out the members of Muslim League who represented the bulk of the Muslims in every pronvince. The Nationalist Muslims who became ministers were not representatives of the Muslims in the sense in which the muslim League Members were and in not taking the League Members in the Cabinet the Congress openly repudiated its own action in statutorily having recognised itself communal by statute. On the other hand the Muslims were quite unwilling to come under Congress control; their interest never needed protection. The Governors were there always ready and willing to offer the most sympathetic support, but the rejection of Muslim League Members as ministers gave Mr. Jinnah a tactial advantage which he utilised to the full and in 1939 when the Congress resigned office in a huff, it completely played in the hand of the Muslim League and British Imperialism. Under Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 the Government of the Congress provinces were taken over by Governors and the Muslim League Ministries remained in power and authority in the remaining provinces. The Governors carried on the administration with a definite leaning towards the Muslims as an Imperial Policy of Britain and communalism reigned right throughout the country through the Muslim Ministries on the one hand and the pro-Muslim Governors on the other. The Hindu-Muslim Unity to Gandhiji became a dream, if it were every anything else, but Gandhiji never cared.

(*g*) League Taking Advantage of War—Encouraged by the situation thus created the Muslim Government in five Pronvinces and the pro-Muslim Governors in the other six, went ahead in full speed. The Congress opposed the war in one way or another. Mr. Jinnah and the League had a very clear policy. They remained neutral and created no trouble for the Government, but in the year following, the Lahore-Session of the Muslim League passed a resolution for the partition of India as a condition for their co-operation in the war. Lord Linlithgow within a few months of the Lahore Resolution gave full support to the Muslims in their policy of separation by declaration of Government Policy which assured the Mulsims that no change in the political consitution of India will be made without the consent of all the elements in India's national life.

(*h*) Cripp's Partition Proposal Accepted—The Congress did not know its own mind as to whether it should support the war, oppose or remain neutral.

(*i*) Quit India by Congress and Divide and Quit by League—Out of sheer desperation Gandhiji evolved the Quit India policy which was endorsed by the Congress. It was supposed to be the greatest national rebellion against foreign rule! Gandhiji had ordered the people to 'do or die'. Mr. Jinnah openly opposed the Quit India Movement as hostile to the Muslims and raised a country slogan 'Divide and Quit'. That is where Gandhiji's Hindu-Muslim Unity had arrived.

(*j*) Hindi Versus Hindustani—Adsurdly pro-Muslim policy of Gandhiji is nowhere more blatantly illustrated than in his perverse attitude on the question of the National Language of India. By all the tests of a scientific language Hindi has the most priror claim to be accepted as the National Language of this country. In the beginning of his career in India, Gandhiji gave a great impetus to Hindi but as he found that the Muslims did not like it, he become a turncoat and blossomed forth as the champion of what is called Hindustani. Words like '*Badshah Ram*' and '*Begum Sita*' were spoken and written. The Mahatma never dared to speak of Mr. Jinnah as Sjt Jinnah and Maulana Azad as Pandit Azad. All his experiments were at the expense of the Hindus. His was a one-way traffic in his search of Hindu-Muslim unity. The charm and the purity of the Hindi Language was to be prostituted to please the Muslim, but even Congressmen apart from the rest of India refused to digest this nosturm. He continued to persist in his support to Hindustani. For practical purpose Hindustani is only Urdu under a different name, but Gandhiji could not have the courage to advocate adoption of Urdu as against Hindi, hence the subterfuge to smuggle Urdu under the garb of Hindustani. Urdu is not banned by the nationalist Hindu but to smuggle it under the garb of Hindustani is a fraud and a crime. That is what the Mahatma tried to do. To bolster up a dialect in School Curriculum and in educational institutions that non-existent languages in garb of Hindustani because it pleased the Muslims was the communalism of the worst type on the part of the Mahatma. All these for Hindu-Muslim Unity.

(*k*) Vande Mataram not to be Sung—The infatuation of Gandhiji for the Muslims and his incorrigible craving for Muslim leadership without any regard for right or wrong, for truth or justice and in utter contempt of the sentiments of the Hindus as a whole was the high watermark of the Mahatmic benevolence. It is notorious that some Muslims disliked the celebrated song of *Vande Mataram* and the Mahatma forthwith stopped its singing or recital wherever he could. But as soon as one Muslim objected to it Gandhiji utterly disregarded the national sentiment behind it and persuaded the Congress also not to insist upon it singing as the national song. We are now asked to adopt Rabindranath Tagore's *Jana Gana Mana*, as a substitute for *Vande Matatram.* Could anything be more demoralised or pitful than this brazen-faced action against a song of world-wide fame ? Simply because one ignorant fanatic disliked it.

(*l*) Shiva Bhavani Banned—Gandhiji banned the public recital or perusal of Shiva Bhavani a beautiful collection of 52 verses by a Hindu poet in which he had extolled the great power of Shivaji.

(*m*) Suhrawardy Patronised—When the Muslim League refused to join the provisional Government which Lord Wavell invited Pandit Nehru to form, the league started a Council of Direct Action against any Government formed by Pandit Nehru. On the 1st of August, 1947 a little more than two weeks before Pandit Nehru was to take office, there broke out in Calcutta an open massacre of the Hindus which continued for three days unchecked. The horros of these days are described in the '*Statesman*' newspaper of Calcutta. At the time is was considered that the Government which could permit such outrages on its citizens must be thrown out; there were actual sugestions that Mr. Suhawardy's Government should be dismissed, but the socialist Governor refused to take up the administration under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. Gandhiji however went to Calcutta and contracted a strange friendship with the author of these messacres; in fact he intervened on behalf of Suhrawardy and the Muslim League. During the three days that the massacre of Hindus took place, the police in Calcutta did not interfere for the protection of life or property; innumberable outrages were practised under the very eyes and nose of the guardians of law, but nothing mattered to Gandhiji. To him Suhrawardy was an object of admiration from which he could not be diverted and publicly described Suhrawardy as a martyr. No wonder two months later there was the most virulent outbreak of Muslim fanaticism in Noakhali and Tipperah. 30,000 Hindu women were forcibly converted according to a report of *Arya Samaj*, the total number of Hindus killed or wounded was three lacs not to say the crores of rupees worth of property looted and destroyed. Gandhiji then undertook, ostensibly alone, a tour of Noakhali District. It is well-known that Suhrawardy gave him protection wherever he went and even with that protection Gandhiji never ventured to enter Noakhali District. All these outrages, loss of life and property were done when Surhawardy was the Prime Minister and to such a monster of inequality and oommunal poison Gandhiji gave the unsolicited title of Martyr.

(*n*) Attitude towards Hindu and Muslim Princes—Gandhiji's followers successfully humiliated the Jaipur, Bhavanagar and Rajkot

States. They enthusiastically supported even a rebellion in Kashmir State against the Hindu Prince. This attitude strangely enough contrasts with what Gandhiji did about the affairs in Muslim States. There was a Muslim League intrigue in Gwalior State.

(*o*) Gandaiji On Fast—In 1943 while Gandhiji was on fast to capacity and no body was allowed to Inerview him on political affairs, only the nearest and the dearest had permission to go and enquire of his health. Mr. C. Rajgopalchari smuggled himself into Gandhiji's room and hatched a plot of conceding Pakistan which Gandhiji allowed him to negotiate with Jinnah. Gandhiji later on discussed this matter for three weeks with Mr. Jinnah in the later part of 1944 and offered Mr. Jinnah virtually what is now called Pakistan. Gandhiji went every day to Mr. Jinnah's house, flattered him, praised him, embraced him, but Mr. Jinnah could not be cajoled out of his demand for the Pakistan pound of flesh, Hindu-Muslim unity was making progress in the negative direction.

(*p*) Desai-Liaquat Agreement—In 1945 came the notorious Desai-Laiquat Agreement. It put one more, almost the last nail on the coffin of the Congress as a National democratic body. Under the agreement, the late Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, the then leader of the Congress party in the central Legislative Assembly at Delhi entered into an agreement with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the League Leader in the Assembly, jointly to demand a Confernce from the British government for the solution of the stalemate in Indian politics which was growing since the beginning of the war. Mr. Desai was understood to have taken that step without consulting anybody of any importance in the Congress circle, as almost all the Congress leaders had been detained since the Quit India Resolution of 1942. Mr. Desai offered equal representation to the Muslims with Congress at the said Conference and this was the basis on which the Viceroy was approached to convene the Conference. The then Viceroy Lord Wavell flew to London on receipt of this joint request and brought back the consent of the Labour Government for the holding of the Confrence. The official announcement in this behalf stupified the country on account of its treachery alike to nationalism and democracy to which the Congress had become a party. Indian democracy was stabbed in the back and every principle of justice was violated. The Congress member quickly acquisced in this monstrous proposal. The proposal however had, it was then revealed, the blessings of the Mahatma and was in fact made with his previous knowledge and consent. With the full agreement of the Congress party 25% of the people of India were treated as if they were 50% and the 75% were brought down to the level of 50%.

(*q*) Cabinet Mission Plan—Early in the year 1946 the so-called Cabinet Mission arrived in India. In paragrah 15 of the proposals the Mission introduced six conditions under which the British Government would be prepared to convene a constituent Assembly invested with the right of framing a Constitution of Free India. The Congress was called upon to from a Government and accept the whole scheme unconditionally. Mr. Jinnah denounced the British Government for treachery and started a direct action council of the Muslim League. The Bengal, the Punjab, the Bihar, the Bombay, and other places in various parts of India became scenes of bloodshed, arson, loot and rape on a scale unprecedented in history, The overwhelming members of victims were Hindus. The Congress stood aghast and impotent and could not give any protection to the Hindus anywhere. The Governor-General in spite of his powers to intervene under the Act of 1935 in case of a breach of peace or tranquility in India or in any part of it merely looked on and made no use of his obligations under tne Act. A few lakhs of people were killed; many thousands of women and children were kidnapped and few of them have not yet been traced, thousands and thousands of women were raped, hundreds crores worth of property was looted, burned or destroyed. The Mahatma was as far as ever before from his goal of Hindu-Mulsim unity.

(*r*) Congress Surrenders to Jinnah—By the following year the Congress Party abjectly surrendered to Mr. Jinnah at the point of bayonet and accepted Pakistan.

(*s*) Ambiguous Statement about Pakistan—In one of his articles, Gandhiji while nominally ostensibly opposed to Pakistan, openly declared that if the Muslims wanted Pakistan at any cost, there was nothing to prevent them from achieving it. Only the Mahatma could understand what that declaration meant. Was it a prophesy or a declaration or disapproval of the demand for Pakistan?

(*t*) Ill-advice to Kashmir Maharaja—About Kashmir, Gandhiji again and again declared that Sheikh Abdullah should be entrusted the charge of the state and that the Maharaja of Kashmir should retire to Benaras for no particular reason than that the Muslims formed the bulk of the Kashmir population. This also stands out in contrast with his attitude on Hyderabad where although the bulk of the population is Hindu, Gandhiji never called upon the Nizam to retire to Mecca.

(*u*) Mountabatten vivisects India—From August 15, 1946 onwards the private armies of the Muslim League began killing, devastating and destroying the Hindus wherever they could lay their hands on. Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy was undoubtedly greatly distressed at what was happening but he would not use his powers under the Government of India Act of 1935 to prevent such a holocaust and Hindu blood began to flow from Bengal to Karachi with mild reactions in the Deccan. All the time from the 2nd September 1946 the so-called National Government consisting of two hybrid elements utterly reconciliable to each other was in office but the Muslim League members who were 50% of the Congress did everything in their power to make the working of a Coalition Government impossible. The Muslim League members did everything they could to sabotage the coalition Government but the more they became disloyal and treasonable to the Government of which they formed a part, the greater was Gandhiji's infatuation for them. Lord Wavell had to resign as he could not bring about a settlement. He had some conscience which prevented him from supporting the partition of India. He had openly declared it to be unnecessary and undesirable. But his retirement was followed by the appointment of Mountbatten. King Log was followed by King Stork. This supreme Commander of the South-East Asia was a purely military man and he had a great reputation for daring, and tenacity. He came to India with a determination to do or die and he 'did' namely he vivisected India. He was more indifferent to human slaughter. Rivers of blood flowed under his very eyes and nose. He apparently was thinking that by the slaughter of Hindus so many opponents of his mission were killed; the greater the slaughter of the enemies greater the victory, and he pursued his aim relentlessly to its logical conclusion. Long before June 1948 the official date for handing over power, the wholesale murders of the Hindus had their full effect.. The Congress which had boasted of its nationalism and democracy secretly accepted Pakistan literally at the point of the bayonet and abjectly surrendered to Mr. Jinnah. India was vivisected. One third of the Indian territory became foreign land to us from the 15th of August, 1947. Lord Mountabaten came to be described in Congress Circle as the greatest Viceroy and Governor-General India had ever known. He had gifted ten months earlier than 30th June, 1948 what is called Dominion Status to vivisect India. This is what Gandhiji had achieved after thirty years of undisputed dictatorship and this is what the Congress Party calls 'Freedom'. Never in the history of the world has such slaughter been officially connived at or the result described as 'Freedom' and 'Peaceful Transfer of power'. If what happened in India in 1946, 1947 and 1948 is to be called peaceful, one wonders what would be violent. Hindu-Muslim Unity bubble was finally burst and a theocratic and communal State dissociated from everything that smacked of United India was established with the consent of Nehru and his crowd and they have called it 'Freedom won by them at sacrifice'. Whose sacrifice?

(v) Gandhiji on Cow-salughter—Gandhiji used to display a most vehement desire for the protection of the cow. But in fact he did no effort in that direction. On the contrary, in one of his post-prayer speeches, he has admitted his inability to support the demand for stopping cow-slaughter. An extract from his speech in this connection is reproduced below.

"Today Rajendra Babu informed me that he had received some fifty-thousand post-cards, 20-30 thousand telegrams urging prohibition of cow-slaughter by law. In this connection I have spoken to you before also. After all why are so many letters and telegrams sent to me. They have not served any purpose. No law prohibiting cow slaughter in India can be enacted. How can I impose my will upon a person who does not wish voluntraily to abandon cow-slaughter? India does not belong exclusively to the Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, or Christians. All live here. The claim of the Hindus that India has has become the land of the Hindus is totally incorrect. This land belongs to all who live here. I know an orthodox Vaishnava Hindu. He used to give beef soup to his child."

(*w*) Removal of Tri-Colour Flag—the tricolour flag with the Charkha on it was adopted by the Congress as the National Flag out of defence to Gandhiji. There were flag salutations on innumberable occasions. The flag was unfurled at every Congress meeting. It fluttered in hundreds at every session of National Congress. The late Bhai Parmanand was once mobbed by enthusiastic Congressmen for not paying homage to that flag. University students showed their patriotism by mounting that flag on University building. A Mayor of Bombay is believed to have lost his Knighthood because his wife hoisted this flag on the Corporation building. Such was supposed to be the allegiance of the Congress people to their "National Flag." When the Mahatma was touring Noakhali and Tiperah in 1946 after the beastly outrages on the Hindus, the flag was flying on his temporary hut. But when a Muslim came there and objected to the presence the flag on his head, Gandhiji quickly directed its removal. All the reverenital sentiments of millions of Congressmen towards that flag were affronted in a minute, because that would please an isolated Muslim fanatic and yet the socalled Hindu-Muslim unity.

As far as Gandhi's role of a Freedom-Fighter is concerned, Nathuram Godse says in paras 71-78 of his written statement before the court :

71. Some good number of people are labouring under the delusion that the freedom movement in India started with the advent of Gandhiji in 1914-15 and reached is consummation on the 15th August 1947 on which day it is said we attained Freedom under the leadership of the Father of the Nation. In all history there was never a more stupendous fiction fostered by the cunning the robe believed by the credulous in this country for over a thousand years. Far from attaining freedom under his leadership Gandhiji has left India torn and bleeding from a thousand wounds. There has been always alive in India a freedom movement which has never been suppressed. When the Mahratta Empire was finally subdued in 1818 as the British thought the forces of freedom were lying low for some time in part of India but were actually challenging the supremacy of the British so far as Northern India was concerned through the rise of Sikh power. And when by 1848 the Sikhs were defeated at Gujerat the rebellion of 1857 were being actively organised. It came with such suddenness and force and was so widespread that the British Imperialists began to shake in their shoes and more than once they seriously considered the advisability of leaving India. The history of the great effort on the part of the Indian people to overthrow the British yoke has been vividly described in the pages of Veer Savakar's *War of Independence 1857* and by the time the British had fully regained control the Indian National Congress was established, once more to challenge the British

domination and from 1885 the National urge for freedom began to assert itself first through constitutional methods, later by militant methods. This last developed into armed resistance which openly asserted itself through the bomb of Khudi Ram Bose in 1906.

72. Gandhiji arrived in India in 1914-15. Nearly eight years earlier, the revolutionary movement had spread over a large part of India. In Maharashtra, Punjab and Bengal that movement continued to flourish parallel to Gandhiji's rise to leadership after the death of Lakamanya Tilak.

73. In 1892 the British Government were obliged to extend the then Legislative Councils. This was followded up by Morley-Minto Reforms in 1909 when for the first time the elected representatives of the people secured the right to participate in the work of the Legislature both by their voice and their votes. Twelve years thereafter after the first world War the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms conceded partial Pronvincial Autonomy and also increased the number of elected members so as to give permanent non-official majority both at the Centre and in the Provinces; and in 1935, came the complete Provincial Autonomy and substantial Central responsibility which covered every subject except Foreign policy, Army, and to some extent Finance. Gandhiji had no love for Parliamentary bodies. He called them prostitutes, and always urged their boycott. Yet the constitutional progress upto 1935, little though it was, had been achieved. The Act of 1935 was of course defective more especially because of the numerous and vexation safeguards granted to the British vested interests and the premium it placed on commualism.

74. There was further objection to it on the ground of the veto which it granted to the Governers and the Governor-General. Even then it is reasonably certain that if the Act had not been boycotted under Gandhiji's leadership, India would have long since reached the status of a Dominion which we are now supposed to be enjoying, after losing one third of Indian territory.

75. I have already mentioned the revolutionary party which exited independent of the Congress. Amongst its sympathisers were many active Congressmen. This latter section was never reconciled to the yoke of Britain. During the First World War between 1914-1919 the Congress began to turn left and the terrorist movement outside was running parallel to the leftist party within. The Gadar Party was operating simultaneously in Euopre and America in an effort to overthrow British Rule in India with the help of the Axis Powers. The *Comagata Maru* incident is well known, and it is by no means clear that the *Enden* incident on the Madras beach was not due to the knowledge of the German Commander that India was seething with discontent. But from 1920 upwards Gandhiji discouraged, put his foot down on the use of force although he himself had carried on an active campaign for recruitment of soldiers for Britain only a few years earlier. The Rowlatt

Report described at length the strength of the revolutionaries in India. From 1909 to 1918 one Britisher after another and his Indian stooges were shot dead by the revolutionary nationalists and the British authorities were trembling about their very existence. It was then that Mr. Montague came to this country as Secretary of State for India and promised the introduction of responsibility; even he was only partially successful to stem the tide of revolutionary fervour. The Government of India Act was over-shadowed by the *Jallinwalla Bagh Tragedy* in which hundreds of Indians were shot dead by General Dwyer at public a meetting for the crime of holding a protest against the Rowlatt Act. Sir Michael O'Dwyer became notorious for callous and unscrupulous reprisals against those who had denounced the Rowlatt Act. Twenty years later he had to pay for it when Udham Singh shot him dead in London, Chafeker brothers of Maharashṭra, Pt. Shamji Krishna Verma the backbone of the Revolutionaries, Lala Hardayal, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Rash Behari Bose, Babu Arvind Ghosh, Khudiram Bose, Ulhaskar Datta, Madanlal Dhingra, Kanhere, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev, Chandrashekhar Azad were the living protest by Indian youth against the alien yoke. And the more the Mahatma condemned the use of force in the country's battle for freedom the more popular it become. This fact was amply demonstrated at the Karachi Session of the Congress in March 1931; in the teeth of Gandhiji's opposition a resolution was passed in the open session admiring the courage and the spirit of sacrifice of Bhagat Singh when he threw the bomb in the Legislative Assembly in 1929. Gandhiji never forgot this defeat and when a few months later Mr. Hotson, the Acting Governor of Bombay was shot at by Gogate, Gandhiji returned to the charge at an All-India Congress Committee meeting and asserted that the admiration expressed by the Karachi Congress for Bhagat Singh was at the bottom of Gogate's action in shooting at Hotson. This astouding statement was challenged by Subhas Chandra Bose. He immediately came into disfavour with Gandhiji. To sum up, the share of revolutionary youth in the fight for Indian Freedom, is by no means neglible and those who talk of India's freedom having been secured by Gandhiji are not only ungrateful but are trying to write false history. The true history of India from 1895 onwards for the freedom of the. country will never be written long as Indian affairs are in charge of the Gandhian Group. The memorable share of the youth will be kept back. It is nevertheless true that they have played a noble and creditable part.

78. It was not merely those who advocate the use of force in the freedom battle whom Gandhiji opposed. Even those who held political views radically different from his and those who did not accept his nostrums whom Gandhiji made the target of displeasure. An outrageous exampale of his dislike of people with whom he did not agree is furnished by the case of Subhas Chandra Bose. So far as I am aware no protest was ever made by Gandhiji against the deportation of Subhas for six years and Bose's election to the Presidential Chair of the Congress was

rendered possible only after he had personally disallowed any sympathy or violence. In actual practice however Subhas never toed the line that Gandhiji wanted during his term of office. And yet Subhas was so popular in the country that against the declared wished of Gandhiji in favour of Dr. Pattabhi he was elected president of the the Congress for a second time with a substantial majority even from the Andhra Desha, the province of Dr. Patthabhi himself. This upset Gandhiji beyond endurance and he expressed his anger in the Mahatmic manner full of concentrated venom by stating that the success of Subhas was his defeat and not that of Dr. Pattabhi. Even after this declaration, his anger against Subhas Bose was not gratified. Out of sheer cussedness he absented himself from the Tripuri Congress Session. Staged a rival show at Rajkot by a wholly mischievous fast and not until Subhas was overthrown from the Congress Gaddi that the venom of Gandhiji became completely gutted.

79. This incident about the re-election of Subhas to the Congress crown and of his eventual expulsion from the Presidential office is an indication of the hypocrisy with which the Mahatma controlled and repudiated the Congress as and when he liked. He had repeatedly stated after 1934 with a great show of detachment that he was not even a four anna member of the Congress Party and that he had nothing to do with it. But when Subhas was elected for a second time Gandhiji completely lost his balance and furnished the best proof that he had interfered with that election from the very inception in favour of Dr. Pattabhi; it is a proof of his keen and engrossing interest in the rivalries and petty squabbles within the Congress at every stage while professing to be not even a member of that body.

80. When the Quit India Movement was launched by the Congress, on the 8th August 1942 at the intiative of Gandhiji most of its leaders were quickly arrested by Government before they could make any start and the movement so far as it was non-violent was nipped in the bud. There was another section in the Congress itself who went underground. These latter were not over anxious to follow the Gandhian technique and to go to jail; on the contrary, they wanted to avoid going to jail as long as possible and in the meantime to do the maximum damage to Government by cutting communications, by committing arson, loot and other acts of violence, not excluding murder, the statement of Gandhiji exhorting the people to 'Do or Die' was interpreted by that section as giving them full scope for all kinds of obstruction and sabortage. In fact they did every thing to paralyse the war effort of Government to the fullest extent. Police *Thanas* were burnt, postal conmunication were violently interrupted. In north Bihar and other places, nearly 900 railways stations were either burnt or destroyed and the administration was almost to a standstill for a time.

81. In fact, the Quit India campaign was known more its acts of violence of the part of Congress supporters than for anything else.

Gandhiji's non-violence had died within few weeks of the starting the Quit India campaign while the violence that was being committed under that name found no favour with him. The Gandhian point of view was entirely absent from the activities of the Congress party and its supporters within a few weeks of the 8th August 1942. No where was non-violence either preached or practised.

82. By the time Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose who had mysteriously escaped from India early in January, 1941 had already arrived in Japan after reaching Berlin through Afghanistan. How Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose escaped from Calcutta in January 1941 and hardships and sufferings which he had to undergo on his way through the Indian Frontier to Kabul and thereafter to Berlin are vividly described by Mr. Uttam Chand in his book *When Bose was Ziauddin*. The courage and tenacity with which Bose faced all privations, all dangers, all difficulties eventually reaching Berlin made the most thrilling and romantic reading. By the time of the arrival of the Cripps Mission in India in 1942 he had already reached Japan and was organising an invasion of India. Before Subhas left Germany, Hitler had invested him with the title of His Excellency and on reaching Japan he found the Japanese ready to assist him against the British in the invasion of the country. Japan had already joined the war on the side of the Axis by the attack on the Pearl Harbour in America; Germany had declared war on Russia; Britain and France in turn had declared war on Italy, Garmany and Japan. In Japan, in Federated Malaya States, Subhas received most enthusiastic welcome and immense support from the Indians settled there.

83. The Japanese had intensified their war effort and occupied Burma, Dutch East Indies, Federated Malaya States and the whole of the Far East including the Andamans Islands. Subhas Chandra Bose was thereby enabled to start a provisional Indian Republican Government on Indian territory. By 1944 he was equipped to start on an invasion of India with the help of the Japanese. Pandit Nehru had declared that if Subhas Chandra Bose came into India with the support of the Japanese he would fight Subhas. Early in 1944, Japanese and the Indian National Army organised by Subhas were thundering at the gates of India and they had already entered Manipur State and some part of the Assam Frontier.

84. Gandhiji was opposed to Subhas Chandra Bose's invasion of India. Nehru was opposed to him because he did not approve of Bose's support to the Japanese invader. But whatever differnce may have existed between Bose and the other Indian leaders there was no doubt whatever that Subhas was loved more than any other leader because of his single-handed effort to destroy British imperialism. If Subhas had been alive and had entered India in 1945 after the defeat of the Japanese army the whole Indian population would, like one man, have been behind him and given him most affectionate welcome.

85. All this time the Muslim League was carrying on treasonable

activities, disturbing the peace and tranquility of India, carrying on a murderous campaign against the Hindus.

86. The real cause of the British leaving this country is threefold and it does not include the Gandhian method. The aforesaid triple forces are:

(i) The movements of the Indian Revolutionaries right from 1857 to 1932, i.e.

(ii) So also a good deal of credit must be given to those who, imbided with a spirit of patriotism, fought with the Britishers strictly on constitutional lines in the Assembly floors, also rediculed by Gandhiji himself.

(iii) There is also one more but none the less important reason for the Britishers which made them part with power and that is the advant of Labour Government and an overthrow of Mr. Churchill.

As regards the deplorable Nathuram Godse said in para 88 to 111 of his statement. We cite only some of these paras.

88. Really speaking the idea of Hindu-Mulsim unity which Gandhiji had put forward when he entered Indian politics, came to an end from the moment Pakistan was established, because the Muslim League was opposed to regard India as one whole nation; and over again they had stated with great obstinacy, that they were not Indians. The Hindu-Muslim Unity which Gandhiji himself had put forward many a time was not of this type. What he wanted was that they both should take part in the struggle for independence as comrades. That was his idea of Hindu-Muslim Unity. The Hindus followed Gandhiji's advice but the Muslims on every occasion, disregarded it and indulged in such behaviour as would be insulting to the Hindus, and at last, it has culminated in the vivisection and division of the country.

89. The mutual relations of Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah are also worthy of note. When Mr. Jinnah who was once an ardent nationalist became rank communalist from 1920 and onward, since then he put forward one evident and clear fact that it was his intention to look to the interests of the Muslim community and that the Muslims should not at all rely upon the Congress leaders, and that the Muslims should not support the fight for freedom along with the Congress.

92. Having known that with his spiritual powers he could not influnce Mr. Jinnah, Gandhiji should have either changed his policy or could have admitted his defeat and given way to others of different political views to deal with Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. But Gandhiji was not honest enough to do that. He could not forget his egoism or self even for national interest.

93. Constantly for nearly one year after the horrible, Noakhali massacre, our nation was as if bathing in the pool of blood. The Muslims indulged in horrible and dreadful massacre of humanity followed by reactions from Hindus in some parts. The attacks of Hindus on Muslims in the East Punjab, Bihar, or Delhi, were simply acts of

reaction. It is not that Gandhiji did not know that the basic cause of these reactions was the outrages on Hindus by the Muslims in the Muslim majority Provinces. But still Gandhiji went on condemning strongly such actions of Hindus only.

94. Gandhiji need have taken into consideration that the desire for reprisals springing up in the Hindu mind was simply a natural reaction. Thousands of Hind us in the Muslim Provinces were being massacred simply because of their being Hindus.

96. Looked at from the point of view of the Indian politics, I have already shown in my narration elsewhere, how Gandhiji had strongly opposed several efforts made for winning the freedom of the country. There was no consistency in his own political policy. In particular his behaviour at the time of the last war was quite unthinkable.

97. He first gave out the principal that no help should be given by India to the war between England and Germany. *War meant violence and how could I help* was his saying. But the wealthy companions and followers of Gandhiji enormously added to their wealth by undertaking contracts from the Government for the supply of materials for war. It is needless for me to mention names but all know the wealthy personalities of Birla, Dalmia, Walchand Hirachand, Nnjibhai Kalidas, etc. Gandhiji and his Congress colleagues have been much helped by every of them. But Gandhiji never refused to accept the money offered by these wealthy people although it was got from this bloodfilled war. Nor did he prevent these wealthy people from carrying out their contracts with the Government for the supply of the materials for war. Not only that but Gandhiji had given his consent to taking up the contract for supplying blankets to the army from the Congress Khadi Bhandar.

98. Gandhiji's release from jail in 1944 was followed by the release of other leaders also, but the Government had to be assured by the Congress leaders of their help in the war against Japan. Gandhiji not only did not oppose this but actually supported the Government proposal.

99. In Gandhiji's politics there was no place for consistency of ideas and reasons. Truth was what Gandhiji only could define.

100. Gandhiji had once said, *Freedom got from Non-violence a Thousand Years Later is preferable to the freedom got to-day by Violence*. Whether he acted as he said, or whether his actions and sayings were diametrically opposed to each other can be inferred to some extent from the example cited above.

101. A recent example of the inconsistency of his doctrine of non-violence is worth being noted in particular. The problem of Kashmir followed very closely that of Pakistan. Pakistan had begun a dreadful invasion to conquer and gulp down the Kashmir. H.H. The Maharaja of Kashmir had asked for help from the Nehru Government, and the latter in return agreed to do so on condition that Sheikh Abdullah

would be made the Chief Administrator.

102. Our political leaders knew from the very beginning that the invasion of Kashmir by the raiders was supported by Pakistan. And it was therefore, evident that sending help to the Kashmir meant waging war directly against Pakistan. Gandhiji himself was opposed to the war with arms and he has told this to the entire world again and again. But he gave his consent to Pt. Nehru to send army in Kashmir. The only conclusion that could be drawn from what is happening in Kashmir is that, today after the attainment of freedom for the partitioned India, under Gandhiji's blessings, our Government had resorted to the war where man-killing machinery is being used.

103. Had Gandhiji a firm belief in the doctrine of non-violence, he should have made a suggestion for sending *Satyagrahis* instead of the armed troops and tried the experiment. Orders should have been issued to send '*Takalis*' in place of rifles and 'spinning wheels' i.e. *Charkhas* instead of the guns. It was a golden opportunity for Gandhiji to show the power of his *Satyagraha.*

104. But Gandhiji did nothing of the sort. He had begun a new war by his own will, at the very begnning of the existence of Free India. What does this inconsistency mean? Why did Gandhiji himself so violently trample down the doctrines of non-violence he had championed? To my mind, the reason for his doing so is quite obvious; and it is that this war was being fought for Sheikh Abdullah. The administrative power of Kashmir, was going in the hands of Muslims and for this reason and this reason alone did Gandhiji consent to the destruction of the raiders by Armed Forces.

105. I thought it rather a very unfortunate thing that the in present 20th century such a hypocrite should have been regarded as the leader of the All India politics. The mind of this Mahatma was not affected by the attacks on the Hindus in Hyderabad State; and this Mahatma never asked the Nizam of Hyderabad to abandon his throne. If the Indian politics proceeded in this way under the guiding dominance of Gandhiji, even the preservation of freedom obtained today—even though in partitioned India—would be impossible. These thoughts arose in my mind again and again and it was full with them. As the above incident were taking place, Gandhiji's fast for the Hindu-Muslim Unity was announced on 13th January 1948, and then I lost nearly all my control on my feelings.

109. When the Congress recognised the Muslim League as representing the Muslim community, viewed from logical point of view it would not have been out of place to recognise the Hindu Mahasabha as representing the Hindus, or at least the Congress should openly have declared that it would look to the interests of the Hindus. But the Congress never did that. As a result of all this, in spite of the existence of a very powerful body such as the Muslim League looking after the interests of the Muslims, a few Muslims who were still members of

the Congress, also looked after the Muslim interests, whereas there was none to look after the Hindu interest as such. But the Congress which decried the Hindu Mahasabha by calling it 'communal' took part in the conference of leaders., convened by H.E. Lord Wavell at Simla and accepted the principle of 50 per cent representation of the Muslims. Not only that, but at the instance of Gandhiji the Congress leaders were prepared to be recognised as representatives of caste Hindus. This position taken by the Congress was the most hideously communal one being entirely the outcome of the Muslim-appeasing-policy adopted by it.

111. But the Congress under the leadership of Gandhiji commenced its surrender to the Muslims, right from the time the 14 demands of Mr. Jinnah were made till the establishment of the Pakistan. Is it not a deplorable sight for people to see the Congress celebeate the occasion of the establishment of a Dominion Government in the rest of the country shattered and vivisected by the Pakistan in the East and West and with the pricking thorn of Hyderabad in its midst. On seeing this downfall of the Congress under the dominance of Gandhiji, I am reminded of the well known verse of Raja Bhartihari to the effect: that the Ganges has fallen from the Heavens on the head of Shiva, thence on the Himalayas, thence on the earth, and thence in the sea. In this manner, down and down she went and reached a very low stage. Truly it is said that indiscriminate persons deteriorate to the low position in a hundred ways.

In para 121 of his statement Nathuram Godse stated thus:

121. Pakistan was conceded on the 15th of August 1947, and how? Pakistan was conceded by deceiving the people and without any consideration for the feelings and opinions of the people of Punjab, Bengal N.W.F. Province, Sind, etc. Indivisible *Bharat* was divided into two and in one of its parts a theocratic State was established. The Muslims obtained the fruit of their anti-national movements and actions in the shape of Pakistan. The leaders of the Gandhian creed ridiculed the opponents of Pakistan as traitors and communal minded, while they themselves helped in the establishment of a Muslim State in India.

Further he goes on thus:

122. Every day that dawned brought forth the news about thousands of Hindus being massacred. Sikhs numbering 15,000 having been shot dead, hundreds of women torn of their clothes, being made naked and taken into procession and that Hindu women were being sold in the market places like cattle. Thousands and thousands of Hindus had to run away for their lives and they had lost everything of theirs. A long line of refugees extending over the length of 40 miles was moving towards the Indian Union. How was this terrible happening counter-acted by the Union Government? Oh? by throwing bread to the refugees from the air!

123. These atrocities and the blood-bath would have to some extent been checked if the Indian Government had lodged strong protests against the treatment meted out to the minorities in Pakistan.

124. When all these happenings were taking place in Pakistan,

Gandhiji did not even by a single word protest and censure the Pakistan Government or the Muslims concerned.

125. The most noticeable and important thing is that Gandhiji never cared for the opinion of the people so far as Muslims were concerned. His theme of non-violence has now been deeply soaked in human blood. Gandhiji had taken in his hand the task of a propaganda which even the staunchest adherent of the Muslim League would scarcely have been able to do for stopping the spread of unfavourable opinion about Pakistan in the minds of the people.

126. About this very time he resorted to his last fast unto death. Every condition given by him for giving up the fast is in favour of Muslims and against the Hindus.

127. One of the seven conditions imposed by Gandhiji for the breaking of his fast unto death related to the mosques in Delhi occupied by the refugees. This condition was to the effect that all the mosques in Delhi which were occupied by the refugees should be vacated or got vacated and be made over to the Muslims. Gandhiji got this condition accepted by the Government.

128. Was not Gandhiji aware of the reasons and circumstances that compelled the refugees to occupy the mosques? No temples and no gurudwara existed in the part of the country that has become Pakistan. The refugees had seen with their own eyes, their temples and gurudwaras being desecrated by filthy use made of them simply for the purpose of insulting the Sikhs and Hindus. The refugees had come—fled to Delhi having had to leave every thing belonging to them and there was no place of shelter for them in Delhi. What wonder there could be if the refugees brought to their minds again and again their own hearts and home in the Punjab and N.W.F. Province whise they were either taking shelter at the sides of the streets or under tree some how? It was under such circumstances that these refugees had resorted to and occupied the mosques. They were living under the roof in mosques and in doing so were not these mosques being used for the benefit of humanity? While Gandhiji imposed the condition of evacuating the refugees from the mosques occupied by them, had he also asked the Government and the people concerned, to provide some alternative arrangement for their shelter, before getting the mosques evacuated it would have shown some human touch in his demand. While Gandhiji made a demand for the evacuation of the mosques by the refugees had he also imposed a condition to the effect that the temples in Pakistan should be handed over to the Hindus by the Muslims, or some other similar condition, that would have shown that Gaudhiji's teaching of non-violence, his anxiety for Hindu-Muslim unity and his belief in soul force would have been taken or understood as being impartial, spirited and non-communal.

129. Let us then take the case of 55 crores.

Gandhiji himself has said about these 55 crores that it is always very difficult to make any Government to alter its decisions. But the Government have altered and changed their original decision of withholding the payment of Rs. 55 crores of Pakistan and the reason for doing so was his fast unto death. (Gandhiji's sermon at Prayer-Meeting held on or about the 21st of January, 1948) The decision to withhold the payment of Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan was taken up by our Government which claims to be people's Government. But this decision of the people's Government was reversed to suit the tune of Gandhiji's fast. It was evident to my mind that the force of public opinion was nothing but a trifile when compared with the leanings of Gandhiji's favour to Pakistan.

130. The creation of Pakistan is the result of the Muslim hostility to the national movement of India. A number of people who showed their allegiance to Pakistan have been clapped in jail as fifth columnists by this very Government. But to my mind Gandhiji himself was the greatest supporter and advocate of Pakistan and no power could have any control on him in this attitude of his.

131. In these circumstances the only effective remedy to relieve the Hindus from the Muslim atrocities was, to my mind, to remove Gandhiji from this world.

140. Had this act not been done by me, of course it would have been better for me. But circumstances were beyond my control. So strong was the impulse of my mind that I felt that this man should not be allowed to meet a natural death so that the world may know that he had to pay the penalty of his life for his unjust, anti-national and dangerous favouritism towards a fanatical section of the country.

At the end of his written statement Nathuram Godse says in paras 149and 150.

149. It is a fact that in the presence of a crowd numbering 300 to 400k people I did fire shots at Gandhiji in open daylight. I did not mae any atteempt to run away. In fact I never entertained any idea of running away. I did not try to shoot myself. It was never my intention to do so, for, it was my ardent desire to give vent to my thoughts in an open Court.

150. My confidence about the normal side of my action has not been shaken even by the criticism levelled against it on all sides, I have no doubt honest writers of history will weigh my act and find the true value thereof on some day in future.

AKHANDA BHARAT AMAR RAHE
VANDE MATARAM

(1) Dy. Prime Minister's statement dated January 12, 1948; Payment of Cash Balances to Pakistan. Late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patal, then Dy. Prime Minister has in his statement exposed Pakistan's highhandedness and double game of acquiring cash balances from India and at the same time continuing the invasion on Kashmir. He has strongly defended in the statement India's stand of withholding the money.

(2) The Finance Minister's account of negotiations reaffirms Sardar Patel's stand and sounds a note of warning that India cannot

be cowed down by the campaign of hectoring, bullying and scandalizing on the part of responsible Ministers of Pakistan.

(3) The extract India's spontaneous gesture of goodwill first reiterates India's stand as just but then it yeilds to Gandhiji's fast and declared immediate release of the cash balances of Rs. 55 crores.

(4) This is an extract from the Prime Minister's statement. It avets that after consultation with Gandhiji Government has decided to release Rs. 55 crores.

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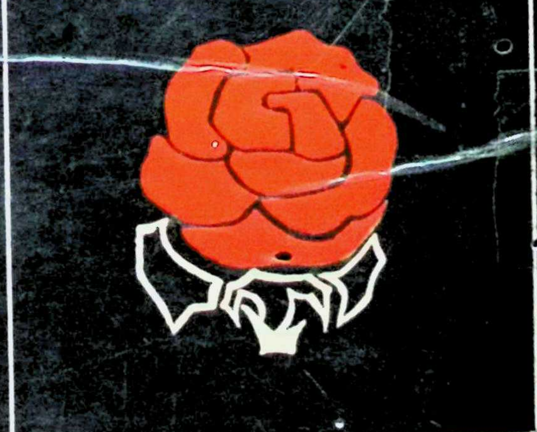
• •

Mr. Sharma is a prolific write. He has written a number of books. He has also contributed scores of articles on Indian History, Politics, Culture and Philosophy to various leading journal . Present book is the result of his long and uninterrupted study, research and thinking over the subject extending over four decades.

COMPILED